PROBLEMS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

VOLUME ONE

The Ancient World through the Age of Absolutism

EDITED BY

Ludwig Frederick Schaefer
CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

David Henry Fowler
CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

Jacob Ernest Cooke
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Mark N. Brown
Martin Engel
Edwin Fenton
David H. Fowler
John J. Renaldo
Daniel P. Resnick
Ludwig F. Schaefer

CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

Jacob E. Cooke
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

Roy Watson Curry
WEST VIRGINIA WESLEYAN COLLEGE

George Mark Ellis
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

David N. Gidman
MANCHESTER (CONN.) COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Robert L. Hess
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CHICAGO

Rae Sprigle Kurland
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Seymour J. Mandelbaum
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Thomas R. Meehan
OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

Hugo A. Meier
PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Robert Schwarz
FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY

Paul L. Ward
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Problems in Western Civilization

THE CHALLENGE OF HISTORY

VOLUME ONE

The Ancient World through the Age of Absolutism

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS · NEW YORK

EXPANDED TWO-VOLUME EDITION
COPYRIGHT © 1968 CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

SHORTER ONE-VOLUME EDITION
COPYRIGHT © 1965 CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

THIS BOOK PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND IN CANADA—
COPYRIGHT UNDER THE BERNE CONVENTION

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. NO PART OF THIS BOOK
MAY BE REPRODUCED IN ANY FORM WITHOUT
THE PERMISSION OF CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

A–3.68[UV]

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-14625

PERMISSIONS

We wish to make grateful acknowledgment for permission granted by the following to include the selections listed below. Grantors are in alphabetical order, and are also identified in the *Sources of Selections* for each Part or Chapter of this book.

Pages v–vii constitute an extension of the copyright page.

For Heinrich von Treitschke, *Germany, France, Russia, and Islam,* 1915; by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, and The Macmillan Company, New York.

For J. Scott, A. Hyma, and A. Noyes, *Readings in Medieval History,* copyright 1933 by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, and to Mr. Albert Hyma, Holland, Michigan.

For E. F. Henderson, ed., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages,* 1912; by G. Bell and Sons, London.

For Herbert Wilson, *A King's Lessons in Statecraft: Louis XIV; Letters to His Heirs,* 1924; by Ernest Benn Ltd., London.

For *Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas,* copyright 1929 by Benziger Brothers, Inc., New York, and to Burns & Oates Ltd., London.

For Ephraim Lipson, *The Economic History of England,* 5th ed., 1948; by A. & C. Black Ltd., London.

For Brian Pullan, ed., *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe from the Mid-Eighth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century,* 1966; by Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., Oxford.

From *Ancient Roman Religion,* Frederick C. Grant ed., copyright © 1957 by The Liberal Arts Press; reprinted by permission of The Liberal Arts Press Division of The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

For Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on Its Basic Characteristics,* trans. Janet Sondheimer, 1966; by University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

For Aelfric, *Colloquy,* trans. George G. Coulton in *The Medieval Village,* 1925; by the Cambridge University Press, New York.

For George G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation,* 1918; by the Cambridge University Press, New York.

For George G. Coulton, ed., *Life in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed., 1928; by the Cambridge University Press, New York.

For C. H. Hull, ed., *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty,* 1899; by the Cambridge University Press, New York.

For W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century,* 1955; by the Cambridge University Press, New York.

For C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War,* 1938; by Jonathan Cape Ltd., London.

For Romain Rolland, André Maurois, Edouard Herriot, eds., *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century,* 1953; by Cassell and Company Ltd., Publishers, London.

For L. C. Jane, ed., *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, Monk of St. Edmundsbury,* 1907; by Chatto and Windus Ltd., London.

Reprinted from *Feudal Society* by Marc Bloch, trans. L. A. Manyon, by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

For H. W. Fowler, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata,* 1905; by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

For E. C. E. Owen, *Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs,* 1927; by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

For Plato, *The Republic,* trans. F. M. Cornford, 1945; by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

For F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton,* 1928; by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

For Richard B. Schlatter, *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–1688,* 1940; by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

For Charles W. Cole, *Colbert and A Century of French Mercantilism,* copyright 1939 by Columbia University Press, New York.

For T. E. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, eds., *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century,* copyright 1962 by Columbia University Press, New York.

For "Capitulare De Villis," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges II,* I, (1883), trans. in *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West: A Source Book,* copyright 1946 by Columbia University Press, New York.

For Paul Orosius, Irving W. Raymond, trans., *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans,* copyright 1936 by Columbia University Press, New York.

For E. M. Sanford, *Salvian, On the Government of God,* copyright 1930 by Columbia University Press, New York.

For A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History,* 1946; by Coward-McCann, Inc., New York.

From the book *The Social Contract and Discourses* by Jean Jacques Rousseau, trans. G. D. H. Cole. Everyman's Library. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., and J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London.

For S. H. Steinberg, "Thirty Years War," Vol. XXI, *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* copyright 1967, Chicago.

From *English Historical Documents,* Volume II, 1042–1189; eds. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, trans. S. I. Tucker. Reprinted by permission of Eyre & Spottiswoode (Publishers) Ltd., London.

For Sir Charles Petrie, *The Stuart Pretenders,* 1933; by Eyre & Spottiswoode (Publishers) Ltd. London.

For Frances C. Turner, *James II,* 1948; by Eyre & Spottiswoode (Publishers) Ltd., London.

For H. Wace and C. Buchheim, *First Principles of the Reformation,* 1885; by Fortress Press, Philadelphia.

HUNT LIBRARY
CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

For Edward P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History Drawn from the Original Sources,* 1908; by Ginn and Company, Boston.

For James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History,* 1906; by Ginn and Company, Boston.

For Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation,* reprinted by permission of Robert Harben, London.

From *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* by Henri Pirenne, copyright 1936. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, and to Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London.

From pp. 161–163 of *The Age of the Baroque, 1610–1660* by Carl J. Friedrich. Copyright 1952 by Harper & Row Publishers, Incorporated. Used by permission of the publishers.

From pp. 1–2, 110–111, 121–122 of *The Rise of Liberalism* by Harold J. Laski. Copyright 1936 by Harper Brothers; renewed 1964 by Frida Laski. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers.

From pp. 16–19 of *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* by Frederick Duncalf and August C. Krey (Harper and Row, 1912). Used by permission of the publishers.

Reprinted by permission of the publishers of The Loeb Classical Library, W. B. Anderson, translator, Sidonius: *Poems and Letters,* Volume I, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

For H. Wace and C. Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works,* 1896; by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., London.

For Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John,* copyright 1949 by The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

For Isabel Butler, *The Song of Roland,* copyright 1904 by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

From *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* by Hajo Holborn. © Copyright 1959 by Hajo Holborn. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

For Cardinal Richelieu, *Testament Politique,* 1947; by Robert Laffont Editions, Paris.

For George M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History,* 1950; courtesy of David McKay Company, Inc., New York, and Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.

For Leon Bernard and Theodore Hodges, eds., *Readings in European History,* © The Macmillan Company, 1962.

For G. R. Elton, ed., *Renaissance and Reformation, 1300–1648,* © The Macmillan Company 1963, New York.

For W. F. Reddaway, ed., *Select Documents of European History,* 1930; by Methuen & Co. Ltd., Publishers, London.

From *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires,* copyright 1949 by George F. Whicher. Reprinted by permission of New Directions, Publishers.

For H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen, *Adventures of a Simpleton,* trans. Walter Wallich, 1963; by New English Library Limited, London.

For Bede Jarrett, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200–1500,* copyright 1942 by The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland.

For Abbot Justin McCann, ed., *The Rule of Saint Benedict,* copyright 1952 by The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland.

Reprinted from *An Introduction to Medieval Europe 300–1500* by James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright 1937 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright renewed 1964 by Edgar Nathaniel Johnson.

Abridged from Sophocles: *Three Tragedies,* trans. H. D. F. Kitto, © 1962 by Oxford University Press. Used by permission.

For George M. Trevelyan, *The English Revolution, 1688–89,* 1938; by Oxford University Press, London.

For *The Greeks* by H. D. F. Kitto, Penguin Books 1951 by kind permission.

For Roland Mousnier, *Les XVIe et XVIIe Siècles,* in *Histoire Générale des Civilizations,* 1954; by Presses Universitaires de France.

From *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas,* edited by Anton C. Pegis. Copyright 1945 by Random House, Inc. Reprinted by permission; also by permission of Burns & Oates Ltd., London, and of St. Dominic's Priory, London.

For Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century,* trans. William George and Emily Waters, 1926; by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London.

For H. W. Turnbull, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton,* 1959; by The Royal Society, London. Originally published in the *Philosophical Transactions,* Volume 6 (1671/2), pp. 3075–87.

For Norman K. Smith, *Descartes' Philosophical Writings,* copyright 1952 by St. Martin's Press, New York, and to Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

Material from the following works is reprinted with the permission of Charles Scribner's Sons: *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* by Joseph Cullen Ayer (Copyright 1913 Charles Scribner's Sons; renewal copyright 1941 by Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.) and *A Source Book for Medieval History* by Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal.

For J. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece,* copyright 1909 by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

For Ernest Sutherland Bates, *The Bible, designed to be read as living literature: the Old and New Testaments in the King James Version,* copyright 1937 by Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York.

For Norman H. Baynes, "The Decline of the Roman Power in the West: Some Modern Explanations," Vol. XXXIII, *Journal of Roman Studies,* 1943; by permission of The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London. Copyright reserved.

For Emil Reich, ed., *Select Documents Illustrating Mediaeval and Modern History,* 1915; by Staples Press, London.

For W. D. Peckham, ed., *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester* (Sussex Record Society XLVI), 1943; by Sussex Record Society, Lewes.

For Roland H. Bainton, *The Age of the Reformation,* copyright 1956 by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton.

For R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages,* copyright © 1953; by Yale University Press, New Haven.

To Paul Langdon Ward
who provided the inspiration for this book

Acknowledgments

This book is a result of years of teaching and experimentation at Carnegie-Mellon University. The indebtedness of the editors and contributors to the institution and its students is great. Students in the freshman course, Historical Development of Western Civilization, read successive dittoed copies of the material, pointed out its defects, and on occasion applauded its insights. The university was generous with the financial assistance and the released time needed to bring the project to completion.

We owe special thanks to Glen U. Cleeton, Dean Emeritus of the Division of Humanities and Social Studies, who supported the work during the years of experimentation and writing. The staff of the Hunt Library was ever ready to assist; Head Reference Librarians Sally Rowley and Ruth Corrigan tracked down elusive source material with never-ending cheerfulness. The efforts of the late Patricia Hummel, who spent many hours assisting the editors, are gratefully recalled. Thanks, too, must go to the typists who prepared the various versions of the material: to Natalie Fowler, Joanne Zuri, Mary Zarroli, Sheila Bushkoff, and Nancy Hovel, and to Margaret Neff, secretary of the Department of History. We are also indebted to Miss Mary C. Shafer, Mrs. Hazel Bonnell, and Mr. Robert Singer of Lafayette College for their invaluable assistance. We appreciate also the guidance of the staff of the College Department of Charles Scribner's Sons.

The book would have been enriched by the contributions of Alexander Mylonas, colleague and gifted student of the Renaissance, had he not met an untimely death in 1960. We wish here to record our keen sense of loss.

We are grateful for permission to reprint many of the materials used in this volume, and have made usual acknowledgment elsewhere in each instance.

LFS
DHF
JEC

Preface TO THE TWO-VOLUME EDITION

Three years ago a group of historians, then or recently on the faculty at Carnegie-Mellon University, offered to students and teachers of history a volume of forty important problems in the history of the Western world. *Problems in Western Civilization: The Challenge of History,* based upon the group's experience in teaching the widely known freshman course in Western Civilization at the university, has been warmly received. In presenting an expanded, two-volume edition to the public, however, we wish to take advantage of the many kind suggestions of readers in making two major alterations. The first amplifies the coverage of the original work. Since more than half of the readings dealt with the period since the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, we have added six new problems. One of these investigates the culture and politics of ancient Greece, two others have to do with the Church in the Middle Ages, and the remaining ones deal with medieval manorial life, society and politics in Renaissance Florence, and the nature of the Thirty Years' War. The other change, made for the convenience of the user, is in format. The problems are here divided into two volumes, the first ranging from the ancient world to the Enlightenment, the second from the Enlightenment to the present.

Our intentions in publishing the problems remain the same. We wish primarily to encourage each student to grasp as fully as possible his richly varied cultural tradition, for upon the student's understanding of this tradition rests his mature comprehension of the world in which he lives. We have tried to depict the Western heritage effectively by selecting materials which are both representative and illuminating.

At the same time we want the student to understand how history is written and how historians work. It is this emphasis on historical method that distinguishes these volumes from other source readings in Western Civilization. We endeavor to show how the historian's approach to his subject leads to the asking

of provocative questions and to a new understanding of complex events, situations, and personalities. We also introduce the student to the manner in which the historian reduces masses of chaotic fact—and occasional fancy—to reliable meaning, and the way in which he formulates explanations and then tests them.

Beginning students, to be sure, cannot become historians merely by evaluating a few carefully selected documents, but they can acquire abilities essential both to historians and to all who are intent on drawing sound and penetrating conclusions from a body of information. They can learn to read sources with a skeptical eye, to distrust black and white judgments, to perceive both the utilities and the dangers of making historical comparisons, and to cultivate the fine art of making qualifications and distinctions. They can, at the least, learn a great deal about asking good questions and avoiding bad answers.

To encourage students to approach their work in history actively and creatively, we have presented the materials in these volumes in the form of problems rather than as separate documents or articles. We have tried to define the problems in open-ended fashion, allowing for some breadth of interpretation by both student and teacher, rather than to offer them as simple puzzles admitting of but one pat solution. Each problem is on a subject which is dealt with, in one way or another, by most college courses in Western Civilization and is of a length suitable for an assignment for one class meeting. These books should thus lend themselves both to quiz section divisions of large lecture courses and to smaller classes taught by one instructor. Many teachers presumably will not wish to use all the problems or the material included in each problem. In either case, it will be seen that each chapter of this work stands independently, that each part of a chapter is a separate problem, and that the readings in each problem can be assigned separately.

The present volumes are not intended, of course, to replace a textbook, which can be used to provide an essential framework of historical information. Instructors who may wish to de-emphasize reliance on a single text, however, will find that the introductions and headnotes to our problems provide the historical background necessary to understand them.

However the material is used, it is our hope that a study of these documents and interpretive readings will reveal that history is a creative discipline, concerned with constant redefinition and rediscovery, rather than a recapitulation of permanent truths. Every intelligent citizen must grapple with broad historical questions; we hope that these problems will discourage naive and uninformed answers and provide the material for mature and intelligent explanations. If, in the end, a few of our readers conclude, in the words of a distinguished contemporary historian, that "the study of history properly undertaken, can be the most broadening, humanizing, useful and exciting of all learned pursuits," * our work will have been justified.

LFS
DHF
JEC

*Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review,* LXVIII (January, 1963), 326.

Contents

Acknowledgments *xi*
Preface to the Two-Volume Edition *xiii*
Note to the Teacher and Student *xxiii*

CHAPTER ONE
The Ancient World and the Study of History *1*

PART I
Crisis in Fifth-Century Greece *2*
BY Robert Schwarz

A. The Spartan Way of Life. **B.** The Athenian Way of Life. **C.** The Coming of the War.

PART II
The Greeks and the Good Life: Athens in the Golden Age *18*
BY Robert Schwarz and David Fowler

A. The Polis. **B.** Philosophy. **C.** Literature. **D.** Art.

PART III
The Romans and the Germans *42*
BY Edwin Fenton

A. Tacitus on the Germans.

PART IV
The Romans and the Christians *53*
BY Seymour Mandelbaum and David Gidman

A. Christianity in Its Infancy. **B.** Early Persecution of Christians. **C.** The Prob-

lem of Official Policy. **D.** An Outsider Views the Christians. **E.** Roman Justice and Christian Martyrs. **F.** The Pagans and the Christians.

PART V

The Decline of Rome 71

BY Robert Hess

A. A Modern Historian's Treatment of the Problem. **B.** Roman Comments on Conditions in the Late Empire.

CHAPTER TWO

The Problem of Government in the Middle Ages *89*

PART I

The Feudal Idea and Political Authority *90*

BY Hugo Meier

A. The Decline of Roman Authority: The Groundwork for Feudalism. **B.** The Reassertion of Political Centralism: Charlemagne. **C.** Vassalage and the Feudal Contract. **D.** Feudalism and the Age of Faith. **E.** The Feudal Ideal in Epic Form.

PART II

The Forces that Produced Magna Carta *108*

BY George Mark Ellis

A. A Contemporary Account of Magna Carta. **B.** The Character of King John. **C.** The King, the Pope, and the Church. **D.** The Continental Problem. **E.** The Feudal Problem. **F.** Magna Carta—1215.

CHAPTER THREE

The Medieval Church *124*

PART I

Christianity and the Feudal Church *124*

BY Mark Brown

A. The Feudalization of the Church. **B.** The Role of the Church in Feudal Society. **C.** The Feudal Clergy. **D.** Tithes and the Feudal Church. **E.** Clerical Reform. **F.** Monastic Ideal and Reality.

PART II

Papacy and Empire in the Early Middle Ages *145*

BY Mark Brown

A. The Papacy under the Roman Empire. **B.** The Pope's Struggle for Independence in Italy. **C.** Charlemagne. **D.** The Papacy under the Holy Roman Empire. **E.** The Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV.

CHAPTER FOUR
Aspects of Medieval Life *163*

PART I
Life on the Manor *164*
BY Daniel Resnick

A. The Image of the Peasant in Medieval Literature. **B.** Customs of the Manor. **C.** The Power of the Lord. **D.** The Nature and Meaning of Serfdom.

PART II
The Ideal and the Practice in Medieval Business Life *183*
BY Robert Schwarz

A. The Ideal. **B.** The Practice.

PART III
Three Medieval Views of Happiness *197*
BY Rae Sprigle Kurland

A. St. Thomas Aquinas. **B.** A Medieval Tale. **C.** Goliardic Verse.

CHAPTER FIVE
The Renaissance *221*

PART I
Social and Political Change in Renaissance Florence *222*
BY John Renaldo

A. The Revolt of the Ciompi. **B.** The Ethic of Florentine Oligarchy. **C.** Medici Control in Florence.

PART II
Individualism and the Artist: Benvenuto Cellini *243*
BY David Gidman

PART III
The New Realism of Machiavelli *269*
BY Paul Ward

A. Machiavelli's New Approach to Politics. **B.** Machiavelli's Advice on Morality. **C.** Case Study: Caesar Borgia. **D.** How Should *The Prince* Be Understood?

CHAPTER SIX
Conflict and Continuity in Religion *289*

PART I
Luther: Rebel or Conservative? *290*
BY Ludwig Schaefer

A. Three Secondary Interpretations. B. The Early Development of Martin Luther. C. The Religious Revolt. D. Luther at the Diet of Worms. E. Luther and Erasmus. F. The Peasants' Revolt.

PART II

The Continuity of Religious Reform: Catholic Reformation and Calvinism 310

BY Roy Curry

A. Cardinal Ximenes and Pre-Lutheran Reform of the Spanish Church. B. The Catholic Reformation after Luther. C. Calvinism.

PART III

Religion and Politics: The Thirty Years' War 321

BY Ludwig Schaefer

A. The Devastation of the War. B. The Swedish Phase. C. The Peace of Westphalia. D. The Nature of the War.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Commercial Expansion: England, A Case Study 343

BY George Mark Ellis

A. The Spirit of Commercial Competition. B. The Regulation of Trade. C. Colonial Propaganda. D. Business Speculation. E. Robinson Crusoe: The Entrepreneurial Type.

CHAPTER EIGHT

From Tradition to Science 369

BY Seymour Mandelbaum

A. René Descartes: Skepticism and Tradition. B. Isaac Newton: A Confident Method. C. Man and a Mechanistic Universe.

CHAPTER NINE

Politics in the Age of Absolutism 386

PART I

The Limits of Authoritarian Bureaucracy 387

BY Ludwig Schaefer

A. The Reign of Louis XIV: A Recent Appraisal. B. Divine Right: The Theory. C. The King in Action: A Royal View. D. The King in Action: A Noble View. E. The State and Economic Life. F. Louis XIV and Religious Conformity. G. A Critic's View of Absolutism.

PART II

The Failure of Absolutism: The Revolution of 1688 409

BY George Mark Ellis

A. James II, Stuart King of England. **B.** The Position of the English Crown in 1685. **C.** The Roman Catholic Problem. **D.** The Middle Classes. **E.** William, Prince of Orange. **F.** The Bill of Rights, 1689. **G.** Three Interpretations of the Causes for the Revolution.

PART III

The Problem of Security Versus Liberty 427
BY Roy Curry

A. Thomas Hobbes. **B.** John Locke. **C.** Jean Jacques Rousseau.

List of Readings *443*
Illustration Acknowledgments *449*

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

17 The Mediterranean World
40 The Acropolis
41 A Decorative Frieze on the Parthenon
96 The Carolingian Empire in 814
99 A Noble Doing Homage: from a Medieval Manuscript
103 A Medieval Representation of Roland
109 Western Europe in 1200
135 Mosaic Showing St. Peter Investing Pope Leo III with the Pallium
165 A Typical Manor
171 Landlord Receiving Dues from Peasant. A German Woodcut of the Fifteenth Century
247 The Piazza della Signoria with the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence
254 *Hercules and Cacus* by Bandinelli
254 *David* by Michelangelo
264 Two Views of Cellini's *Perseus and the Medusa*
270 Italy in the Time of Machiavelli
322–323 Central Europe at the Time of the Thirty Years' War
356–357 The Voyages of Robinson Crusoe
395 Louis XIV as the Sun King

Note to the Teacher and Student

This book offers a selection of great problems in the history of Western man from the fifth century B.C. to the Enlightenment. The organization is simple and logical. Chapters focus on significant historical problems and have been divided generally into two or three parts, each part revealing a different aspect of the basic problem. Each of these parts of a chapter has been provided with an editorial introduction which defines the nature of the problem and provides a factual background for the readings which follow. Each part is further divided into sections introduced by brief headnotes and contains varying numbers of documents and interpretations. The readings are identified by numbers within parentheses which refer to the sources to be found listed at the end of the problem. We have followed the style of these sources in so far as spelling, punctuation, the use of capital letters, and similar elements are concerned, unless some change to clarify the meaning seemed dictated by the needs of the reader. Some original footnotes have been omitted. Square brackets indicate material supplied by ourselves. Where initials of translators are found in the sources listed after each problem, the translations are fresh ones done for this volume by the contributing editors.

Maps and illustrations have been introduced where they may be especially helpful. Study questions, placed at the beginning of each section of a problem, suggest lines of attack on central issues within the following readings; general questions at the end of each problem afford a chance for retrospective thought.

Ellipsis is signaled in the usual way, except when obvious and an encumbrance, and a line of five periods . . . . . will show an extensive omission. Excerpting has permitted the use of a wide variety of documents.

A complete List of Readings is contained at the end of this volume.

PROBLEMS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

VOLUME ONE

The Ancient World through the Age of Absolutism

CHAPTER ONE

The Ancient World and the Study of History

THE roots of Western Civilization extend deep into the history of the peoples of the Mediterranean world. While this chapter provides neither comprehensive nor representative coverage of the thousands of years before the Middle Ages, it does offer the student an opportunity to examine the ideas and institutions of four major elements of the Western heritage: Greek, Judeo-Christian, Roman, and Germanic. Part I shows the city-states of Athens and Sparta, based on opposing theories of government and society, locked in a bitter struggle for the leadership of Greece in the fifth century B.C. The student is asked to weigh the motives of the two enemies in this complex situation and to consider how much power the state should have over the individual and what obligations the individual has to the state. Part II focuses on Athens during its Golden Age and inquires into the nature of a culture that greatly influenced subsequent historical development. Part III presents a view of German tribal society of the first century A.D. Here the reader is asked to consider the forces, conditions, and ideas which gave that society cohesion and a distinctive character. Part IV follows the growth of Christianity from its birth as a minor Jewish sect to its triumph as the dominant religion of the Mediterranean world and seeks out the ways in which Roman and Christian ideas and institutions affected each other. Part V is concerned with the classic problem of why Roman political power disintegrated.

A basic purpose of this book is to raise questions about the ways in which historians work and thereby introduce the student to the study and practice of historical method. Part I of this chapter, for example, asks a fundamental question: Of what value is a knowledge of a past situation for understanding other past events or the present? In Part II the reader is introduced to the historian's

tool of categorization in studying the nature of a historical phenomenon. An understanding of Athenian civilization requires consideration of the political, economic, religious, intellectual, and aesthetic aspects of the culture. Part III on the German tribes permits a more detailed study of the work of one historian, Tacitus, and asks what criteria the historian uses to evaluate the testimony of other writers or observers. Part IV furnishes the reader with samples of the scattered and diverse pieces of raw material with which the historian must try to reconstruct a complex story—the growth of Christianity—and asks him to judge the values and limitations of different kinds of evidence. Here, as in Part III, he is asked to distinguish between evidence and inference in a writer's work and to locate bias where it appears; he is shown how the value of historical insights and conclusions depends to a great extent on the effectiveness of the questions posed by the scholar. Finally, Part V focuses on the central task of the historian, that of interpretation; a modern historian evaluates differing explanations of the same development—the decline of Rome—and formulates his own interpretation of that event. The reader is then given the testimony of a number of men who witnessed the decline and is asked to reconcile it to recent interpretations.

PART I

Crisis in Fifth-century Greece

In 1956 the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued a number of declarations concerning the "cold war" between the blocs it identified as communist and capitalist. One of these declarations held that while a war between the two camps was not inevitable, the threat of such a war would persist as long as the capitalist bloc remained ideologically hostile to the communist. Whether we accept the identification of the rivalry as communist-capitalist or whether we prefer to put it in other terms, most people would agree that the vast international competition suggested by the term "cold war does include a strong ideological element as well as a contest for power and influence in the world.

Such a dual competition—an ideological conflict mingled with a struggle for power—also characterized the crisis that racked the Greek world in the fifth century B.C., a crisis ending in the savage Peloponnesian War between

Athens and Sparta and their allies. A brief discussion of the background of this struggle is in order here. Classical Greek civilization grew out of a long period sometimes called the Dark Age. Evidence is scanty for the period before about 750 B.C., when colonization from mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and Ionia (the west coast of Asia Minor) to all parts of the Mediterranean basin began. This exodus lasted for about two hundred years and brought the language and customs of Greece to much of the Mediterranean world. The heights of what is usually called the "classical" period of Greek civilization were reached in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. The supreme test of the strength of this civilization came in 480 with the invasion of Greece by the Persians. The victory of the Greek allies in the Persian Wars demonstrated their ability to resist the power of an Oriental empire hitherto regarded as irresistible.

After the wars Athens emerged as the leading state in Greece, boasting a flourishing commerce and culture. But the brilliance of Athenian life was accompanied by a strong show of force: the fleet built by the Athenian-dominated Delian League was the instrument with which Athens built a large empire. This empire, centered around the Aegean Sea, was held together by the fear of fresh Persian aggression, but it also served the Athenian ambition to become the political leader of Greece. Athens' great opponent was Sparta, the strongest power in the Peloponnesus, the southern peninsula of Greece. A rivalry between two Athenian leaders, Cimon and Themistocles, revealed to the Spartans the lengthening shadow of Athens, for as the two statesmen vied for power at home, they outdid each other in extending Athenian hegemony over the maritime empire.

By the time of Pericles (461 B.C.) a showdown with Sparta was becoming increasingly likely. Pericles increased the strength of the navy and the home fortifications in obvious preparation for conflict; he provoked Sparta further by making alliances with states like Argos and Megara, her bitter enemies. The same Pericles who was the spokesman for Athenian greatness and for Athens' vaunted internal democracy did his best to force the Delian allies to become unwilling satellites, interfered in the internal affairs of Boeotia, and drove Sparta's smaller allies to ask her for assistance against Athenian pressures. Thus the fifty years after the end of the Persian Wars witnessed a rising tension in Greece that ended in a fratricidal war between its two greatest powers. The Peloponnesian War broke out in 431 and lasted until 404.

There are thus obvious grounds for considering the Peloponnesian War a naked struggle for power in Greece. Yet there are also grounds for viewing it as a struggle between rival ideologies. Despite the bonds that united the Greeks—a common language, a common polytheistic religion, certain "national" events of an aesthetic and athletic nature such as the Olympic games, and a certain degree of federal patriotism as evidenced by the joint resistance to the Persians—their city-states were fiercely independent of one another. This particularism flourished in Greece not, as some scholars used to believe, because the geography of the land does not lend itself to political unity, but because at that time no great states or empires were close enough or strong enough to destroy

it and because it was the arrangement the Greeks preferred for themselves. One of the most important reasons why they preferred it was that citizens of one state considered themselves different in important respects from citizens of other states. A contemporary Greek might have ascribed these differences to the distinctive *polis* of his state. While there is no modern equivalent for this word, which originally denoted the citadel that formed the center of a city's defense, *polis* grew to mean, according to H. D. F. Kitto, "as much as the whole communal life of the people, political, cultural, moral, even economic." Each Greek *polis* cultivated its own ideal of civic life; each, while venerating the same major gods, established cults of worship for the one or more deities who provided it with special protection. To some degree, as will become clear, the differences among *poleis* resulted in clashing social values.

Historians have therefore found the struggle between Athens and Sparta a fascinating mingling of desire for power and desire for ideological triumph. Can the analysis of this contest be applied to other historical situations? This chapter opened, the reader will recall, with the observation that the political confrontation of the fifth century B.C. in some ways resembled the crisis of our own times. Some historians have noted similarities between Sparta's constitution and political values and German ideals of society in 1914 and 1939, and have found resemblances as well between Athenian democracy, individualism, and sea power and British ideals and circumstances. Others have found analogies between the primitive communism of Sparta and modern Communism in the Soviet Union and China and between the values of Athenian society and those of the Western world today. But in what ways and to what degree are such comparisons useful? Upon what assumptions do they depend? Are they perhaps deceptive and confusing rather than clear and illuminating? To the historian these questions about the value of studying history are both central and omnipresent.

The materials that follow—a description of Spartan life by a later Greek writer, the report of a speech by an Athenian leader, and an account of the preliminaries of the Peloponnesian War by an ancient historian—will allow the student to examine the differences between Athens and Sparta. This will permit investigation, first, of the question of whether the clash owed more to deep differences between respective "ways of life" or to drives for power that cloaked selfish motives in terms of ideology and, second, of the question of what kinds of lessons, if any, history teaches.

A. The Spartan Way of Life

The following reading is from "Lycurgus," one of the biographical essays of Plutarch, a Greek author who lived in the second half of the first century A.D. Lycurgus, if he was a real person rather than a legendary one, lived about 600 B.C. Plutarch placed no premium on fully accurate, "scientific" historical description.

He was a moralist, interested in deriving lessons for posterity from portrayals of the characters of men of the past. But even if Lycurgus, who was supposed to have created the Spartan constitution in the early days of that commonwealth, was legendary, historical research generally supports the validity of Plutarch's picture of public life in Sparta. The passages dealing with Spartan ideals of public life are the most significant part of the essay. They read a little like the report of Plutarch's Roman contemporary, Tacitus, on German society.

—What did the Spartans consider the highest value in their community life?
—What incentives would have impelled a Spartan to be patriotic in view of the hard life he was expected to lead?
—Are there analogies between the "Spartan way of life" and the ideals and practices of twentieth-century totalitarian nations? Would the existence of such analogies necessarily mean that Sparta was totalitarian?

1. PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF LYCURGUS (1)

A second . . . political enterprise of Lycurgus was a new division of the lands. For he found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. . . . Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man, and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. . . .

In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant-ship unlade in their harbours. There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself: even they who had great possessions, had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie use-

less, in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables. . . .

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time they were forbidden to eat at home, upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private. For so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. . . .

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but he was obliged to carry the child to a place called Lesche, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land; but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called Apothetae, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus; concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution. For the same reason the women did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body; imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while healthy become more vigorous and hardy. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses; for, as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air; besides, they used them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark nor to be afraid of being alone, and to leave all ill humour and unmanly crying. Hence people of other countries [hired] Lacedaemonian* nurses for their children. . . . As soon as they [Spartan children] were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who showed the most conduct and courage amongst them, was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishment he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning, they had just what was absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight and conquer. They added, therefore, to their discipline, as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play, for the most part, quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year allowed them. Hence

*[Spartan]

they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged the great favour of baths, and oils, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thistle-down, as that seemed to have some warmth in it. . . .

The discipline of the Lacedaemonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased; the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country. Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those who were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen, was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account: and the Helots, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above-mentioned. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedaemonian, who, happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness; and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desired the company to show him the person that was condemned for keeping up his dignity. So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanical arts, and all desire of riches! . . .

[Lycurgus] would not permit all that desired to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government. He forbid strangers too to resort to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the [government] of that city, and [improve themselves], but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners come new subjects of discourse; new discourse produces new opinions; and from these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He, therefore, thought it more expedient for the city to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

B. The Athenian Way of Life

Pericles' Funeral Oration, delivered at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, is both a stirring call for patriotism and democracy and a classic in the history of oratory. Pericles may not have said everything in just the way the Athenian historian Thucydides reported it, but this need not concern its use in the present problem. The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.), the great showdown between

Athens and Sparta, ended with the victory of Sparta, the temporary end of Athenian democracy, and the final end of Athenian political supremacy in Greece. Both city-states were so weakened by the long war that about half a century after its conclusion Greece fell easy prey to Philip of Macedonia; Hellenic civilization, as the Periclean Age had known it, came to an end.

Pericles (c. 490-429 B.C.) is intimately associated with the heyday of Hellenic culture. He governed Athens at a time when the most distinguished Athenian artists and tragedians were flourishing. As a spokesman for the democratic way of life, he was recognized even by his enemies as unsurpassed. As a statesman responsible for Athens' foreign policy, he was, however, not immune to criticism. The oration, part of which is given here, was delivered in commemoration of the casualties of the first year of the war with Sparta. Pericles took the opportunity to extol the merits of the democratic life, attempting thereby to infuse the citizens of Athens with a patriotic will to defend their state.

—What cautions should be employed in evaluating the reliability of the content of the address?
—What did Pericles mean specifically when he called Athens a democracy?
—How might the different ways of life in Athens and Sparta produce different types of patriotism in the citizens of each?

1. THUCYDIDES REPORTS PERICLES' FUNERAL ORATION (2)

. . . Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. And here is the proof. The Lacedaemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbor's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace: the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. . . .

To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty mon-

uments of our power which will make us a wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof the merit of these men whom I am now commemorating. Their loftiest praise has been already spoken. For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious. And of how few Hellenes can it be said as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame! Methinks that a death such as theirs has been given the true measure of a man's worth; it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal. For even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valor with which they have fought for their country; they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the state more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions. None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich. But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honorably avenged, and to leave the rest. They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness; but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone. And when the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonor, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast, and in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory.

C. The Coming of the War

The clash between Athens and Sparta was preceded by a conference in Sparta, which all the Spartan political and military leaders attended. The Corinthians, allies of Sparta, were represented by a delegation, while a group of Athenians who chanced to be in Sparta on another mission presented unofficially the Athenian point of view.

Thucydides (c. 470-c. 400 B.C.) was a contemporary historian of the Peloponnesian War. Primarily interested in clarifying historical events and the motives

and purposes of those who have been called "event-making persons," he has usually been held up to posterity as the first "scientific" historian, the first for whom accuracy was the main goal. While it is true that he paid careful attention to accuracy in most respects, his chief merit as an historian lies in his penetrating insight into the nature of the historical process and the reasons for historical consequences. In his Peloponnesian War *he traces the course of events leading to the conflict and then proceeds to report the story of the war itself with great care. His account of the debate in Sparta is divided into three main parts: the complaint by the Corinthians to their Spartan confederates of Athenian encroachments, the answer of the Athenians who participated informally in the conference, and the deliberations of the Spartans. Only the last two parts are presented below.*

—Is the Athenian defense based on arguments of morality or of power?
—Does the speech of Archidamus or that of Sthenelaïdas seem closer to the ideal of Lycurgus?
—Does Thucydides' account suggest bias toward one side or the other?

1. THE WAR DEBATE AT SPARTA (3)

[*The Athenians speak*] "We were not sent here to argue with your allies, but on a special mission; observing, however, that no small outcry has arisen against us, we have come forward, not to answer the accusations which they bring (for you are not judges before whom either we or they have to plead), but to prevent you from lending too ready an ear to their bad advice and so deciding wrongly about a very serious question. We propose also, in reply to the wider charges which are raised against us, to show that what we have acquired we hold rightfully and that our city is not to be despised.

"Of the ancient deeds handed down by tradition and which no eye of any one who hears us ever saw, why should we speak? But of the Persian War, and other events which you yourselves remember, speak we must, although we have brought them forward so often that the repetition of them is disagreeable to us. When we faced those perils we did so for the common benefit: in the solid good you shared, and of the glory, whatever good there may be in that, we would not be wholly deprived. Our words are not designed to deprecate hostility, but to set forth in evidence the character of the city with which, unless you are very careful, you will soon be involved in war. . . .

"Considering, Lacedaemonians, the energy and sagacity which we then displayed [in the Persian War], do we deserve to be so bitterly hated by the other Hellenes merely because we have an empire? That empire was not acquired by force; but you would not stay and make an end of the Barbarian, and the allies came of their own accord and asked us to be their leaders. The subsequent development of our power was originally forced upon us by circumstances; fear was our first motive; afterwards honour, and then interest stepped in. And when we had incurred the hatred of most of our allies; when some of them had already revolted and been subjugated, and you were no longer the

friends to us which you once had been, but suspicious and ill-disposed, how could we without great risk relax our hold? For the cities as fast as they fell away from us would have gone over to you. And no man is to be reproached who seizes every possible advantage when the danger is so great.

"At all events, Lacedaemonians, we may retort that you, in the exercise of your supremacy, manage the cities of Peloponnesus to suit your own views; and that if you, and not we, had persevered in the command of the allies long enough to be hated, you would have been quite as intolerable to them as we are, and would have been compelled for the sake of your own safety, to rule with a strong hand. An empire was offered to us: can you wonder that, acting as human nature always will, we accepted it and refused to give it up again, constrained by three all-powerful motives, honour, fear, interest? We are not the first who have aspired to rule; the world has ever held that the weaker must be kept down by the stronger. And we think that we are worthy of power; and there was a time when you thought so too; but now, when you mean expediency you talk about justice. Did justice ever deter any one from taking by force whatever he could? Men who indulge the natural ambition of empire deserve credit if they are in any degree more careful of justice than they need be. How moderate we are would speedily appear if others took our place; indeed our very moderation, which should be our glory, has been unjustly converted into a reproach. . . .

"Mankind resent injustice more than violence, because the one seems to be an unfair advantage taken by an equal, the other is the irresistible force of a superior. They were patient under the yoke of the Persian, who inflicted on them far more grievous wrongs; but now our dominion is odious in their eyes. And no wonder: the ruler of the day is always detested by his subjects. And should your empire supplant ours, may not you lose the good-will which you owe to the fear of us? Lose it you certainly will, if you mean again to exhibit the temper of which you gave a specimen when, for a short time, you led the confederacy against the Persian. For the institutions under which you live are incompatible with those of foreign states; and further, when any of you goes abroad he respects neither these nor any other Hellenic customs.

"Do not then be hasty in deciding a question which is serious; and do not, by listening to representations and complaints which concern others, bring trouble upon yourselves. Realise, while there is time, the inscrutable nature of war; and how when protracted it generally ends in becoming a mere matter of chance, over which neither of us can have any control, the event being equally unknown and equally hazardous to both. The misfortune is that in their hurry to go to war, men begin with blows, and when a reverse comes upon them, then have recourse to words. But neither you, nor we, have as yet committed this mistake; and therefore while both of us can still choose the prudent part, we tell you not to break the peace or violate your oaths. Let our differences be determined by arbitration, according to the treaty. If you refuse we call to witness the Gods, by whom your oaths were sworn, that you are the authors of the war; and we will do our best to strike in return."

[*The Spartan King, Archidamus, speaks*] When the Lacedaemonians had heard the charges brought by the allies against the Athenians, and their rejoinder, they ordered everybody but themselves to withdraw, and deliberated alone. The majority were agreed that there was now a clear case against the Athenians, and that they must fight at once. But Archidamus their king, who was held to be both an able and a prudent man, came forward and spoke as follows:

"At my age, Lacedaemonians, I have had experience of many wars, and I see several of you who are as old as I am, and who will not, as men too often do, desire war because they have never known it, or in the belief that it is either a good or a safe thing. Any one who calmly reflects will find that the war about which you are now deliberating is likely to be a very great one. When we encounter our neighbours in the Peloponnese, their mode of fighting is like ours, and they are all within a short march. But when we have to do with men whose country is a long way off, and who are most skilful seamen and thoroughly provided with the means of war—having wealth, private and public, ships, horses, infantry, and a population larger than is to be found in any single Hellenic territory, not to speak of the numerous allies who pay them tribute—is this a people against whom we can lightly take up arms or plunge into a contest unprepared? To what do we trust? To our navy? There we are inferior; and to exercise and train ourselves until we are a match for them, will take time. To our money? Nay, but in that we are weaker still; we have none in a common treasury, and we are never willing to contribute out of our private means.

"Perhaps some one may be encouraged by the superior equipment and numbers of our infantry, which will enable us regularly to invade and ravage their lands. But their empire extends to distant countries, and they will be able to introduce supplies by sea. Or, again, we may try to stir up revolts among their allies. But these are mostly islanders, and we shall have to employ a fleet in their defence, as well as in our own. How then shall we carry on the war? For if we can neither defeat them at sea, nor deprive them of the revenues by which their navy is maintained, we shall get the worst of it. And having gone so far, we shall no longer be able even to make peace with honour, especially if we are believed to have begun the quarrel. We must not for one moment flatter ourselves that if we do but ravage their country the war will be at an end. Nay, I fear that we shall bequeath it to our children; for the Athenians with their high spirit will never barter their liberty to save their lands, or be terrified like novices at the sight of war.

"Not that I would have you shut your eyes to their designs and abstain from unmasking them, or tamely suffer them to injure our allies. But do not take up arms yet. Let us first send and remonstrate with them: we need not let them know positively whether we intend to go to war or not. In the meantime our own preparations may be going forward; we may seek for allies wherever we can find them whether in Hellas or among the Barbarians, who will supply our deficiencies in ships and money. . . . And we must develop our own resources to the utmost. If they listen to our ambassadors, well and good;

HUNT LIBRARY
CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

but, if not, in two or three years' time we shall be in a stronger position, should we then determine to attack them. Perhaps too when they begin to see that we are getting ready, and that our words are to be interpreted by our actions, they may be more likely to yield; for their fields will be still untouched and their goods undespoiled, and it will be in their power to save them by their decision. Think of their land simply in the light of a hostage, all the more valuable in proportion as it is better cultivated; you should spare it as long as you can, and not by reducing them to despair make their resistance more obstinate. For if we allow ourselves to be stung into premature action by the reproaches of our allies, and waste their country before we are ready, we shall only involve Peloponnesus in more and more difficulty and disgrace. Charges brought by cities or persons against one another can be satisfactorily arranged; but when a great confederacy, in order to satisfy private grudges, undertakes a war of which no man can foresee the issue, it is not easy to terminate it with honour.

"And let no one think that there is any want of courage in cities so numerous hesitating to attack a single one. The allies of the Athenians are not less numerous; they pay them tribute too; and war is not an affair of arms, but of money which gives to arms their use, and which is needed above all things when a continental is fighting against a maritime power; let us find money first, and then we may safely allow our minds to be excited by the speeches of our allies. We, on whom the future responsibility, whether for good or evil, will chiefly fall, should calmly reflect on the consequence which may follow.

"Do not be ashamed of the slowness and procrastination with which they are so fond of charging you; if you begin the war in haste, you will end it at your leisure, because you took up arms without sufficient preparation. Remember that we have always been citizens of a free and most illustrious state, and that for us the policy which they condemn may well be the truest good sense and discretion. It is a policy which has saved us from growing insolent in prosperity or giving way under adversity, like other men. We are not stimulated by the allurements of flattery into dangerous courses of which we disapprove; nor are we goaded by offensive charges into compliance with any man's wishes. Our habits of discipline make us both brave and wise; brave, because the spirit of loyalty quickens the sense of honour, and the sense of honour inspires courage; wise, because we are not so highly educated that we have learned to despise the laws, and are too severely trained and of too loyal a spirit to disobey them. We have not acquired that useless over-intelligence which makes a man an excellent critic of an enemy's plans, but paralyses him in the moment of action. We think that the wits of our enemies are as good as our own, and that the element of fortune cannot be forecast in words. Let us assume that they have common prudence, and let our preparations be, not words, but deeds. Our hopes ought not to rest on the probability of their making mistakes, but on our own caution and foresight. We should remember that one man is much the same as another, and that he is best who is trained in the severest school.

"These are principles which our fathers have handed down to us, and we maintain to our lasting benefit; we must not lose sight of them, and when many lives and much wealth, many cities and a great name are at stake, we must not be hasty, or make up our minds in a few short hours; we must take time. We can afford to wait, when others cannot, because we are strong. And now, send to the Athenians and remonstrate with them about Potidaea first, and also about the other wrongs of which your allies complain. They say that they are willing to have the matter tried; and against one who offers to submit to justice you must not proceed as against a criminal until his cause has been heard. In the meantime prepare for war. This decision will be the best for yourselves and the most formidable to your enemies."

[*Sthenelaïdas speaks*] Thus spoke Archidamus. Last of all, Sthenelaïdas, at that time one of the Ephors [Directors], came forward and addressed the Lacedaemonians as follows:

"I do not know what the long speeches of the Athenians mean. They have been loud in their own praise, but they do not pretend to say they are dealing honestly with our allies and with the Peloponnesus. If they behaved well in the Persian War and are now behaving badly to us they ought to be punished twice over, because they were once good men and have become bad. But we are the same now as we were then, and we shall not do our duty if we allow our allies to be ill-used, and put off helping them, for they cannot put off their troubles. Others may have money and ships and horses, but we have brave allies and we must not betray them to the Athenians. If they were suffering in word only, by words and legal processes their wrongs might be redressed; but now there is not a moment to be lost, and we must help them with all our might. Let no one tell us that we should take time to think when we are suffering injustice. Nay, we reply, those who mean to do injustice should take a long time to think. Wherefore, Lacedaemonians, prepare for war as the honour of Sparta demands. Withstand the advancing power of Athens. Do not let us betray our allies, but, with the Gods on our side, let us attack the evil-doer."

When Sthenelaïdas had thus spoken, he, being Ephor, himself put the question to the Lacedaemonian assembly. Their custom is to signify their decision by cries and not by voting. But he professed himself unable to tell on which side was the louder cry, and wishing to call forth a demonstration which might encourage the warlike spirit, he said, "Whoever of you, Lacedaemonians, thinks that the treaty has been broken and that the Athenians are in the wrong, let him rise and go yonder (pointing to a particular spot) and those who think otherwise to the other side." So the assembly rose and divided, and it was determined by a large majority that the treaty had been broken. The Lacedaemonians then recalled the allies and told them that in their judgment the Athenians were guilty, but that they wished to hold a general assembly of the allies and take a vote from them all; then the war, if they approved of it, might be undertaken by common consent. Having accomplished their purpose, the allies returned home; and the Athenian envoys, when their errand was done, returned

likewise. Thirteen years of the thirty years' peace which was concluded after the recovery of Euboea had elapsed and the fourteenth year had begun when the Lacedaemonian assembly decided that the treaty had been broken.

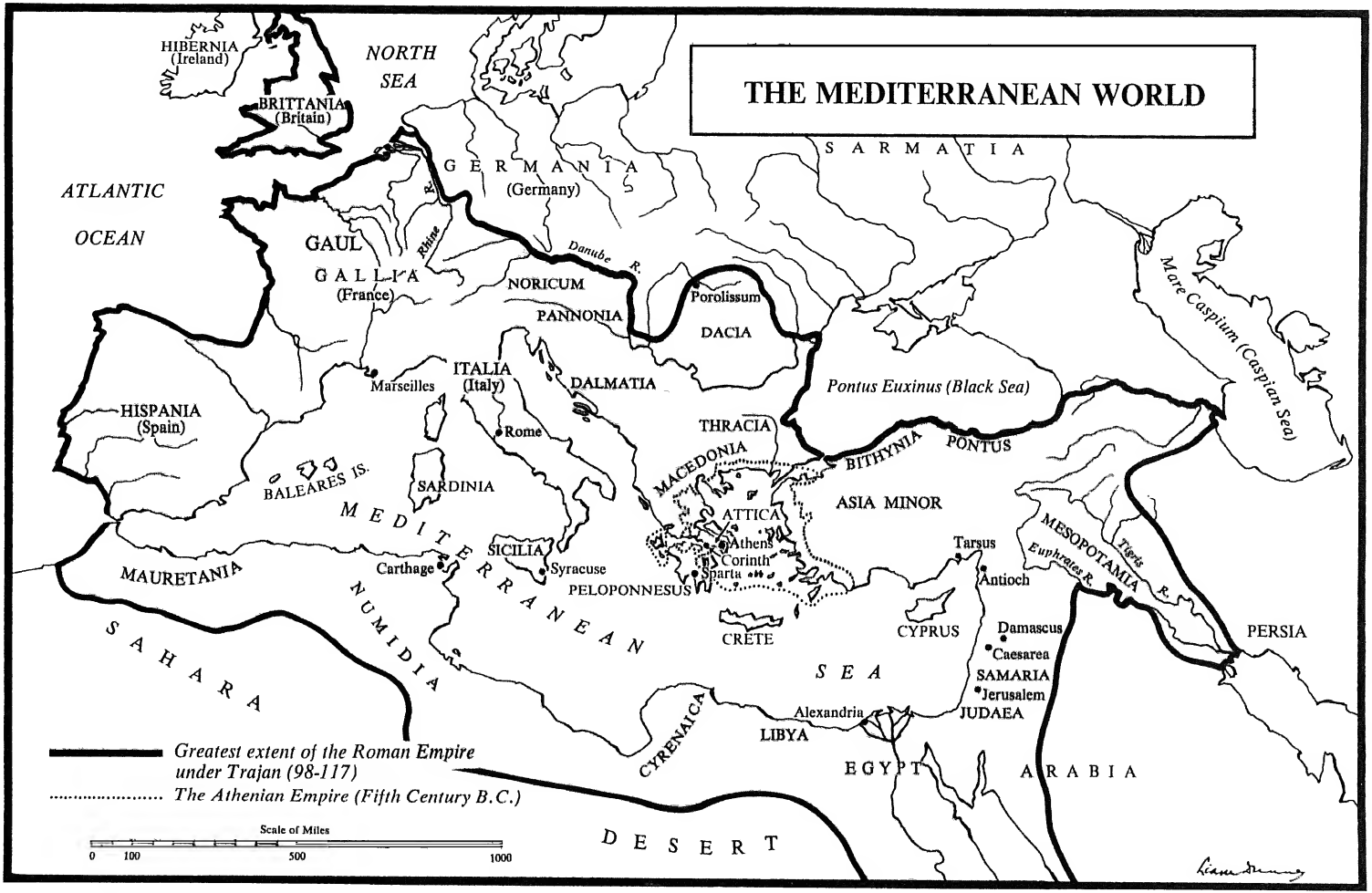
In arriving at this decision and resolving to go to war, the Lacedaemonians were influenced, not so much by the speeches of their allies, as by the fear of the Athenians and of their increasing power. For they saw the greater part of Hellas already subject to them.

Questions for Thought

What were the differences between Athenian and Spartan political and social values? Would you say that these differences were in any way crucial in the fifth-century crisis? Is the analogy between the fifth-century crisis and the Cold War today a useful one?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Plutarch, "Life of Lycurgus," in *Ideal Commonwealths,* ed. by H. Morley (London, 1889), pp. 19-22, 30-31, 39-40, 43.
(2) *Thucydides,* trans. by B. Jowett (2d. ed., Oxford, 1900), I, 127-32.
(3) *Ibid.,* I, 50, 52-60.



The east-west axis of the Roman Empire corresponded roughly to the distance between Pittsburgh and San Francisco, the distance from Britain to the Sahara to that between Maine and Florida.

PART II

The Greeks and the Good Life: Athens in the Golden Age

Greek civilization reached its zenith in the century between about 450 and 350 B.C., a period whose cultural achievements were so dazzling that it came to be called a "Golden Age." The pages that follow will attempt to assay the civilization found so remarkable by later generations through examination of some of its political arrangements and samples of its philosophy, literature, and art. All the examples deal with Athens or works by Athenians, not because Athens was typical of Greece but because she epitomized Greek culture. These were the years in which Athens assumed political leadership in Greece, and in this case cultural leadership accompanied power. As Pericles put it, Athens became "the school of Hellas."

The varied materials selected for this problem should suggest to the student that the historian must analyze many aspects of a civilization in order to understand its meaning to its members, to outsiders, and to following generations. He must examine its religions as well as its political systems, its artistic and literary creations as well as its ways of making a living. Then he must try to see how these aspects of life fit together. Do the precepts of religion conflict with the laws of the state, or do they support them? Do artistic or literary productions reflect dominant social values, or do they subvert them? Is the result a comparatively unified and harmonious society, or one characterized by deep divisions over important practices and values?

The "Golden Age" of Greece, covering as long a period as it did, necessarily contained its share of conflict and diversity. It witnessed not only the Peloponnesian War, the temporary downfall of Athenian democracy, and recurrent civil wars, but also philosophic conflict between moral relativists and moral absolutists. One should not then expect that any few examples of political practices, philosophy, literature, and art could be called "typical" of the entire era. But one can choose such examples to illuminate the concern of the Greeks with certain profound problems. The following selections have such a unity: they deal in one way or another with the Greek attempt to define what the good life should mean, for both the citizen and the society of which he was a part.

In considering these examples, one should ask what the Greeks believed the citizen and the society meant to each other in terms of duty, ideals, and identity. What delicate balance of individual efforts and social arrangements could produce the good life? Were there any unifying or consistent themes

which underlay all of Greek life? Does an answer to the last question help to explain the quality of greatness in Greek civilization?

A. The Polis

H. D. F. Kitto, a modern British interpreter of ancient Greece, has written a short essay on the polis *which no student of Greek life should miss. Professor Kitto explains that in his book* The Greeks *he wanted to describe what the Greeks were, not what they did. Nothing can clarify the nature of the Greeks better than an explanation of the term* polis.

—Why is a geographic and political definition of the word *polis* inadequate? How would you define it?
—Why did the Greeks feel the best kind of life could only be lived in a small political entity like the city-state?
—Is a *polis* more likely to cultivate democratic virtues or to lead to dictatorship?

1. KITTO: THE POLIS (1)

'POLIS' is the Greek word which we translate 'city-state'. It is a bad translation, because the normal polis was not much like a city, and was very much more than a state. But translation, like politics, is the art of the possible; since we have not got the thing which the Greeks called 'the polis', we do not possess an equivalent word. From now on, we will avoid the misleading term 'city-state', and use the Greek word instead. In this chapter we will first enquire how this political system arose, then we will try to reconstitute the word 'polis' and recover its real meaning by watching it in action. It may be a long task, but all the time we shall be improving our acquaintance with the Greeks. Without a clear conception what the polis was, and what it meant to the Greeks, it is quite impossible to understand properly Greek history, the Greek mind, or the Greek achievement.

First then, what was the polis? In the *Iliad* we discern a political structure that seems not unfamiliar—a structure that can be called an advanced or a degenerate form of tribalism, according to taste. There are kings, like Achilles, who rule their people, and there is the great king, Agamemnon, King of Men, who is something like a feudal overlord. He is under obligation, whether of right or of custom, to consult the other kings or chieftains in matters of common interest. They form a regular council, and in its debates the sceptre, symbol of authority, is held by the speaker for the time being. This is recognizably European, not Oriental; Agamemnon is no despot, ruling with the unquestioned authority of a god. There are also signs of a shadowy Assembly of the People, to be consulted on important occasions: though Homer, a courtly poet, and in any case not a constitutional historian, says little about it.

Such, in outline, is the tradition about pre-conquest Greece. When the

curtain goes up again after the Dark Age we see a very different picture. No longer is there a 'wide-ruling Agamemnon' lording it in Mycenae. In Crete, where Idomeneus had been ruling as sole king, we find over fifty quite independent poleis, fifty small 'states' in the place of one. It is a small matter that the kings have disappeared; the important thing is that the kingdoms have gone too. What is true of Crete is true of Greece in general, or at least of those parts which play any considerable part in Greek history—Ionia, the islands, the Peloponnesus except Arcadia, Central Greece except the western parts, and South Italy and Sicily when they became Greek. All these were divided into an enormous number of quite independent and autonomous political units.

It is important to realize their size. The modern reader picks up a translation of Plato's *Republic* or Aristotle's *Politics*; he finds Plato ordaining that his ideal city shall have 5,000 citizens, and Aristotle that each citizen should be able to know all the others by sight; and he smiles, perhaps, at such philosophic fantasies. But Plato and Aristotle are not fantasts. Plato is imagining a polis on the normal Hellenic scale; indeed he implies that many existing Greek poleis are too small—for many had less than 5,000 citizens. Aristotle says, in his amusing way . . . that a polis of ten citizens would be impossible, because it could not be self-sufficient, and that a polis of a hundred thousand would be absurd, because it could not govern itself properly. And we are not to think of these 'citizens' as a 'master-class' owning and dominating thousands of slaves. The ordinary Greek in these early centuries was a farmer, and if he owned a slave he was doing pretty well. Aristotle speaks of a hundred thousand citizens; if we allow each to have a wife and four children, and then add a liberal number of slaves and resident aliens, we shall arrive at something like a million—the population of Birmingham; and to Aristotle an independent 'state' as populous as Birmingham is a lecture-room joke. Or we may turn from the philosophers to a practical man, Hippodamas, who laid out the Piraeus in the most up-to-date American style; he said that the ideal number of citizens was ten thousand, which would imply a total population of about 100,000.

In fact, only three poleis had more than 20,000 citizens—Syracuse and Acragas (Girgenti) in Sicily, and Athens. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the population of Attica was probably about 350,000, half Athenian (men, women and children), about a tenth resident aliens, and the rest slaves. Sparta, or Lacedaemon, had a much smaller citizen-body, though it was larger in area. The Spartans had conquered and annexed Messenia, and possessed 3,200 square miles of territory. By Greek standards this was an enormous area: It would take a good walker two days to cross it. The important commercial city of Corinth had a territory of 330 square miles—about the size of Huntingdonshire. The island of Ceos, which is about as big as Bute, was divided into four poleis. It had therefore four armies, four governments, possibly four different calendars, and, it may be, four different currencies and systems of measures—though this is less likely. Mycenae was in historical times a shrunken relic of Agamemnon's capital, but still independent. She sent an army to help the Greek cause against

Persia at the battle of Plataea; the army consisted of eighty men. Even by Greek standards this was small, but we do not hear that any jokes were made about an army sharing a cab.

To think on this scale is difficult for us, who regard a state of ten million as small, and are accustomed to states which, like the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., are so big that they have to be referred to by their initials; but when the adjustable reader has become accustomed to the scale, he will not commit the vulgar error of confusing size with significance. The modern writer is sometimes heard to speak with splendid scorn of 'those petty Greek states, with their interminable quarrels'. Quite so; Plataea, Sicyon, Aegina and the rest are petty, compared with modern states. The Earth itself is petty, compared with Jupiter —but then, the atmosphere of Jupiter is mainly ammonia, and that makes a difference. We do not like breathing ammonia—and the Greeks would not much have liked breathing the atmosphere of the vast modern State. They knew of one such, the Persian Empire—and thought it very suitable, for barbarians. Difference of scale, when it is great enough, amounts to difference of kind.

But before we deal with the nature of the polis, the reader might like to know how it happened that the relatively spacious pattern of pre-Dorian Greece became such a mosaic of small fragments. The Classical scholar too would like to know; there are no records, so that all we can do is to suggest plausible reasons. There are historical, geographical and economic reasons; and when these have been duly set forth, we may conclude perhaps that the most important reason of all is simply that this is the way in which the Greeks preferred to live.

The coming of the Dorians was not an attack made by one organized nation upon another. The invaded indeed had their organization, loose though it was; some of the invaders—the main body that conquered Lacedaemon—must have been a coherent force; but others must have been small groups of raiders, profiting from the general turmoil and seizing good land where they could find it. A sign of this is that we find members of the same clan in different states. Pindar, for example, was a citizen of Thebes and a member of the ancient family of the Aegidae. But there were Aegidae too in Aegina and Sparta, quite independent poleis, and Pindar addresses them as kinsmen. This particular clan therefore was split up in the invasions. In a country like Greece this would be very natural.

In a period so unsettled the inhabitants of any valley or island might at a moment's notice be compelled to fight for their fields. Therefore a local strongpoint was necessary, normally a defensible hill-top somewhere in the plain. This, the 'acropolis' ('high-town'), would be fortified, and here would be the residence of the king. It would also be the natural place of assembly, and the religious centre.

This is the beginning of the town. What we have to do is to give reasons why the town grew, and why such a small pocket of people remained an independent political unit. The former task is simple. To begin with, natural economic growth made a central market necessary. We saw that the economic

system implied by Hesiod and Homer was 'close household economy'; the estate, large or small, produced nearly everything that it needed, and what it could not produce it did without. As things became more stable a rather more specialized economy became possible: more goods were produced for sale. Hence the growth of a market.

At this point we may invoke the very sociable habits of the Greeks, ancient or modern. The English farmer likes to build his house on his land, and to come into town when he has to. What little leisure he has he likes to spend on the very satisfying occupation of looking over a gate. The Greek prefers to live in the town or village, to walk out to his work, and to spend his rather ampler leisure talking in the town or village square. Therefore the market becomes a market-town, naturally beneath the Acropolis. This became the centre of the communal life of the people—and we shall see presently how important that was.

But why did not such towns form larger units? This is the important question.

There is an economic point. The physical barriers which Greece has so abundantly made the transport of goods difficult, except by sea, and the sea was not yet used with any confidence. Moreover, the variety of which we spoke earlier enabled quite a small area to be reasonably self-sufficient for a people who made such small material demands on life as the Greek. Both of these facts tend in the same direction; there was in Greece no great economic interdependence, no reciprocal pull between the different parts of the country, strong enough to counteract the desire of the Greek to live in small communities. . . .

. . . No history of Greece can be intelligible until one has understood what the polis meant to the Greek; and when we have understood that, we shall also understand why the Greeks developed it, and so obstinately tried to maintain it. Let us then examine the word in action.

It meant at first that which was later called the Acropolis, the stronghold of the whole community and the centre of its public life. The town which nearly always grew up around this was designated by another word, 'asty'. But 'polis' very soon meant either the citadel or the whole people which, as it were, 'used' this citadel. So we read in Thucydides, 'Epidamnus is a polis on the right as you sail into the Ionian gulf'. This is not like saying 'Bristol is a city on the right as you sail up the Bristol Channel', for Bristol is not an independent state which might be at war with Gloucester, but only an urban area with a purely local administration. Thucydides' words imply that there is a town—though possibly a very small one—called Epidamnus, which is the political centre of the Epidamnians, who live in the territory of which the town is the centre—not the 'capital' —and are Epidamnians whether they live in the town or in one of the villages in this territory.

Sometimes the territory and the town have different names. Thus, Attica is the territory occupied by the Athenian people; it comprised Athens—the 'polis' in the narrower sense—the Piraeus, and many villages; but the people

collectively were Athenians, not Attics, and a citizen was an Athenian in whatever part of Attica he might live.

In this sense 'polis' is our 'state'. In Sophocles' *Antigone* Creon comes forward to make his first proclamation as king. He begins, 'Gentlemen, as for the polis, the gods have brought it safely through the storm, on even keel'. It is the familiar image of the Ship of State, and we think we know where we are. But later in the play he says what we should naturally translate, 'Public proclamation has been made . . .' He says in fact, 'It has been proclaimed to the polis . . .' —not to the 'state', but to the 'people'. Later in the play he quarrels violently with his son; 'What?' he cries, 'is anyone but me to rule in this land?' Haemon answers, 'It is no polis that is ruled by one man only'. The answer brings out another important part of the whole conception of a polis, namely that it is a community, and that its affairs are the affairs of all. The actual business of governing might be entrusted to a monarch, acting in the name of all according to traditional usages, or to the heads of certain noble families, or to a council of citizens owning so much property, or to all the citizens. All these, and many modifications of them, were natural forms of 'polity'; all were sharply distinguished by the Greek from Oriental monarchy, in which the monarch is irresponsible, not holding his powers in trust by the grace of god, but being himself a god. If there was irresponsible government there was no polis. Haemon is accusing his father of talking like a 'tyrannos' and thereby destroying the polis—but not 'the State'.

To continue our exposition of the word. The chorus in Aristophanes' *Acharnians,* admiring the conduct of the hero, turns to the audience with an appeal which I render literally, 'Dost thou see, O whole polis?' The last words are sometimes translated 'thou thronging city', which sounds better, but obscures an essential point, namely that the size of the polis made it possible for a member to appeal to all his fellow-citizens in person, and this he naturally did if he thought that another member of the polis had injured him. It was the common assumption of the Greeks that the polis took its origin in the desire for Justice. Individuals are lawless, but the polis will see to it that wrongs are redressed. But not by an elaborate machinery of state-justice, for such a machine could not be operated except by individuals, who may be as unjust as the original wrongdoer. The injured party will be sure of obtaining justice only if he can declare his wrongs to the whole polis. The word therefore now means 'people' in actual distinction from 'state'.

Iocasta, the tragic Queen in the *Oedipus,* will show us a little more of the range of the word. It becomes a question if Oedipus her husband is not after all the accursed man who had killed the previous king Laius. 'No, no,' cries Iocasta, 'it cannot be! The slave said it was "brigands" who had attacked them, not "a brigand". He cannot go back on his word now. The polis heard him, not I alone.' Here the word is used without any 'political' association at all; it is, as it were, off duty, and signifies 'the whole people'. This is a shade of meaning which is not always so prominent, but is never entirely absent.

Then Demosthenes the orator talks of a man who, literally, 'avoids the city'—a translation which might lead the unwary to suppose that he lived in something corresponding to the Lake District, or Purley. But the phrase 'avoids the polis' tells us nothing about his domicile; it means that he took no part in public life—and was therefore something of an oddity. The affairs of the community did not interest him.

We have now learned enough about the word polis to realize that there is no possible English rendering of such a common phrase as, 'It is everyone's duty to help the polis'. We cannot say 'help the state', for that arouses no enthusiasm; it is 'the state' that takes half our incomes from us. Not 'the community', for with us 'the community' is too big and too various to be grasped except theoretically. One's village, one's trade union, one's class, are entities that mean something to us at once, but 'work for the community', though an admirable sentiment, is to most of us vague and flabby. In the years before the war, what did most parts of Great Britain know about the depressed areas? How much do bankers, miners and farmworkers understand each other? But the 'polis' every Greek knew; there it was, complete, before his eyes. He could see the fields which gave it its sustenance—or did not, if the crops failed; he could see how agriculture, trade and industry dovetailed into one another; he knew the frontiers, where they were strong and where weak; if any malcontents were planning a *coup,* it was difficult for them to conceal the fact. The entire life of the polis, and the relation between its parts, were much easier to grasp, because of the small scale of things. Therefore to say 'It is everyone's duty to help the polis' was not to express a fine sentiment but to speak the plainest and most urgent common sense. Public affairs had an immediacy and a concreteness which they cannot possibly have for us.

One specific example will help. The Athenian democracy taxed the rich with as much disinterested enthusiasm as the British, but this could be done in a much more gracious way, simply because the State was so small and intimate. Among us, the payer of super-tax (presumably) pays much as the income-tax payer does: he writes his cheque and thinks, 'There! *That's* gone down the drain!' In Athens, the man whose wealth exceeded a certain sum had, in a yearly rota, to perform certain 'liturgies'—literally, 'folk-works'. He had to keep a warship in commission for one year (with the privilege of commanding it, if he chose), or finance the production of plays at the Festival, or equip a religious procession. It was a heavy burden, and no doubt unwelcome, but at least some fun could be got out of it and some pride taken in it. There was satisfaction and honour to be gained from producing a trilogy worthily before one's fellow-citizens. So, in countless other ways, the size of the polis made vivid and immediate, things which to us are only abstractions or wearisome duties. Naturally this cut both ways. For example, an incompetent or unlucky commander was the object not of a diffused and harmless popular indignation, but of direct accusation; he might be tried for his life before an Assembly, many of whose past members he had led to death.

Pericles' Funeral Speech, recorded or recreated by Thucydides, will illus-

trate this immediacy, and will also take our conception of the polis a little further. Each year, Thucydides tells us, if citizens had died in war—and they had, more often than not—a funeral oration was delivered by 'a man chosen by the polis'. To-day, that would be someone nominated by the Prime Minister, or the British Academy, or the B.B.C. In Athens it meant that someone was chosen by the Assembly who had often spoken to that Assembly; and on this occasion Pericles spoke from a specially high platform, that his voice might reach as many as possible. Let us consider two phrases that Pericles used in that speech.

He is comparing the Athenian polis with the Spartan, and makes the point that the Spartans admit foreign visitors only grudgingly, and from time to time expel all strangers, 'while we make our polis common to all'. 'Polis' here is not the political unit; there is no question of naturalizing foreigners—which the Greeks did rarely, simply because the polis was so intimate a union. Pericles means here: 'We throw open to all our common cultural life', as is shown by the words that follow, difficult though they are to translate: 'nor do we deny them any instruction or spectacle'—words that are almost meaningless until we realize that the drama, tragic and comic, the performance of choral hymns, public recitals of Homer, games, were all necessary and normal parts of 'political' life. This is the sort of thing Pericles has in mind when he speaks of 'instruction and spectacle', and of 'making the polis open to all'.

But we must go further than this. A perusal of the speech will show that in praising the Athenian polis Pericles is praising more than a state, a nation, or a people: he is praising a way of life; he means no less when, a little later, he calls Athens the 'school of Hellas'.—And what of that? Do not we praise 'the English way of life'? The difference is this; we expect our State to be quite indifferent to 'the English way of life'—indeed, the idea that the State should actively try to promote it would fill most of us with alarm. The Greeks thought of the polis as an active, formative thing, training the minds and characters of the citizens; we think of it as a piece of machinery for the production of safety and convenience. The training in virtue, which the medieval state left to the Church, and the polis made its own concern, the modern state leaves to God knows what.

'Polis', then, originally 'citadel', may mean as much as 'the whole communal life of the people, political, cultural, moral'—even 'economic', for how else are we to understand another phrase in this same speech, 'the produce of the whole world comes to us, because of the magnitude of our polis'? This must mean 'our national wealth'.

Religion too was bound up with the polis—though not every form of religion. The Olympian gods were indeed worshipped by Greeks everywhere, but each polis had, if not its own gods, at least its own particular cults of these gods. Thus, Athena of the Brazen House was worshipped at Sparta, but to the Spartans Athena was never what she was to the Athenians, 'Athena Polias', Athena guardian of the City. So Hera, in Athens, was a goddess worshipped particularly by women, as the goddess of hearth and home, but in Argos 'Argive

Hera' was the supreme deity of the people. We have in these gods tribal deities, like Jehovah, who exist as it were on two levels at once, as gods of the individual polis, and gods of the whole Greek race. But beyond these Olympians, each polis had its minor local deities, 'heroes' and nymphs, each worshipped with his immemorial rite, and scarcely imagined to exist outside the particular locality where the rite was performed. So that in spite of the panhellenic Olympian system, and in spite of the philosophic spirit which made merely tribal gods impossible for the Greek, there is a sense in which it is true to say that the polis is an independent religious, as well as political, unit. The tragic poets at least could make use of the old belief that the gods desert a city which is about to be captured. The gods are the unseen partners in the city's welfare. . . .

. . . Aristotle made a remark which we most inadequately translate 'Man is a political animal'. What Aristotle really said is 'Man is a creature who lives in a polis'; and what he goes on to demonstrate, in his *Politics,* is that the polis is the only framework within which man can fully realize his spiritual, moral and intellectual capacities.

Such are some of the implications of this word: we shall meet more later, for I have deliberately said little about its purely 'political' side—to emphasize the fact that it is so much more than a form of political organization. The polis was a living community, based on kinship, real or assumed—a kind of extended family, turning as much as possible of life into family life, and of course having its family quarrels, which were the more bitter because they were family quarrels.

This it is that explains not only the polis but also much of what the Greek made and thought, that he was essentially social. In the winning of his livelihood he was essentially individualist; in the filling of his life he was essentially 'communist'. Religion, art, games, the discussion of things—all these were needs of life that could be fully satisfied only through the polis—not, as with us, through voluntary associations of like-minded people, or through *entrepreneurs* appealing to individuals. (This partly explains the difference between Greek drama and the modern cinema.) Moreover, he wanted to play his own part in running the affairs of the community. When we realize how many of the necessary, interesting and exciting activities of life the Greek enjoyed through the polis, all of them in the open air, within sight of the same acropolis, with the same ring of mountains or of sea visibly enclosing the life of every member of the state—then it becomes possible to understand Greek history, to understand that in spite of the promptings of common sense the Greek could not bring himself to sacrifice the polis, with its vivid and comprehensive life, to a wider but less interesting unity. We may perhaps record an Imaginary Conversation between an Ancient Greek and a member of the Athenaeum.* The member regrets the lack of political sense shown by the Greeks. The Greek replies, 'How many clubs are there in London?' The member, at a guess, says about five hundred. The Greek then says, 'Now, if all these combined, what splendid premises they could build. They could have a club-house as big as Hyde Park.' 'But,' says the

* [The Athenaeum is a famous British literary club founded in London in 1824 by Sir Walter Scott.]

member, 'that would no longer be a club.' 'Precisely,' says the Greek, 'and a polis as big as yours is no longer a polis.'

After all, modern Europe, in spite of its common culture, common interests, and ease of communication, finds it difficult to accept the idea of limiting national sovereignty, though this would increase the security of life without notably adding to its dullness; the Greek had possibly more to gain by watering down the polis—but how much more to lose. . . .

B. Philosophy

Plato's masterpiece, The Republic, *is at once a work in praise of the* polis *and a criticism of the democratic variety of* poleis. *The real heart of the dialogue is the argument of Socrates, whom Plato* (c. *427–347 B.C.*) *used as his spokesman throughout the book, to the effect that happiness, virtue, and wisdom are actually the same thing, while the Sophists, represented in the following section by Thrasymachus, claimed that knowledge and intelligence should be used to promote one's position in life. Thrasymachus held that skillful self-seeking would bring happiness to the individual; Plato labeled this view a "life of injustice."*

—What did Socrates mean by a "life of justice?"
—Does the style of philosophizing used by Plato tell you anything about the nature of intellectual life in fourth-century Athens?
—Can you recognize modern counterparts in the arguments of Socrates and his fellow debaters?

1. PLATO: THE REPUBLIC. IS INJUSTICE MORE PROFITABLE THAN JUSTICE? (2)

However, I [Socrates] continued, we may return to that question later. Much more important is the position Thrasymachus is asserting now: that a life of injustice is to be preferred to a life of justice. . . .

Come then, Thrasymachus, said I, let us start afresh with our questions. You say that injustice pays better than justice, when both are carried to the furthest point?

I do, he replied; and I have told you why.

And how would you describe them? I suppose you would call one of them an excellence and the other a defect?

Of course.

Justice an excellence, and injustice a defect?

Now is that likely, when I am telling you that injustice pays, and justice does not?

Then what do you say?

The opposite.

That justice is a defect?

No; rather the mark of a good-natured simpleton.

Injustice, then, implies being ill-natured?

No; I should call it good policy.

Do you think the unjust are positively superior in character and intelligence, Thrasymachus?

Yes, if they are the sort that can carry injustice to perfection and make themselves masters of whole cities and nations. Perhaps you think I was talking of pickpockets. There is profit even in that trade, if you can escape detection; but it doesn't come to much as compared with the gains I was describing.

I understand you now on that point, I replied. What astonished me was that you should class injustice with superior character and intelligence and justice with the reverse.

Well, I do, he rejoined.

That is a much more stubborn position, my friend; and it is not so easy to see how to assail it. If you would admit that injustice, however well it pays, is nevertheless, as some people think, a defect and a discreditable thing, then we could argue on generally accepted principles. But now that you have gone so far as to rank it with superior character and intelligence, obviously you will say it is an admirable thing as well as a source of strength, and has all the other qualities we have attributed to justice.

You read my thoughts like a book, he replied. . . .

However, I went on, it is no good shirking; I must go through with the argument, so long as I can be sure you are really speaking your mind. I do believe you are not playing with us now, Thrasymachus, but stating the truth as you conceive it.

Why not refute the doctrine? he said. What does it matter to you whether I believe it or not?

It does not matter, I replied. . . .

[Socrates attacks separately three points in Thrasymachus' position: (1) that the unjust is superior to the just in character ('virtue') and intelligence; (2) that injustice is a source of strength; (3) that it brings happiness. After showing that the just man is wise and good and the unjust man weak and god-forsaken, Socrates turns to the third point.]

You will make my enjoyment complete, I replied, if you will answer my further questions in the same way. We have made out so far that just men are superior in character and intelligence and more effective in action. Indeed without justice men cannot act together at all; it is not strictly true to speak of such people as ever having effected any strong action in common. Had they been thoroughly unjust, they could not have kept their hands off one another; they must have had some justice in them, enough to keep them from injuring one another at the same time with their victims. This it was that enabled them to achieve what they did achieve: their injustice only partially incapacitated them for their career of wrongdoing; if perfect, it would have disabled them for any action whatsoever. I can see that all this is true, as against your original position.

But there is a further question which we postponed: Is the life of justice the better and happier life? What we have said already leaves no doubt in my mind; but we ought to consider more carefully, for this is no light matter: it is the question, what is the right way to live?

Go on, then.

I will, said I. Some things have a function; a horse, for instance, is useful for certain kinds of work. Would you agree to define a thing's function in general as the work for which that thing is the only instrument or the best one?

I don't understand.

Take an example. We can see only with the eyes, hear only with the ears; and seeing and hearing might be called the functions of those organs.

Yes.

Or again, you might cut vine-shoots with a carving-knife or a chisel or many other tools, but with none so well as with a pruning-knife made for the purpose; and we may call that its function.

True.

Now, I expect, you see better what I meant by suggesting that a thing's function is the work that it alone can do, or can do better than anything else.

Yes, I will accept that definition.

Good, said I; and to take the same examples, the eye and the ear, which we said have each its particular function: have they not also a specific excellence or virtue? Is not that always the case with things that have some appointed work to do?

Yes.

Now consider: is the eye likely to do its work well, if you take away its peculiar virtue and substitute the corresponding defect?

Of course not, if you mean substituting blindness for the power of sight.

I mean whatever its virtue may be; I have not come to that yet. I am only asking, whether it is true of things with a function—eyes or ears or anything else—that there is always some specific virtue which enables them to work well; and if they are deprived of that virtue, they work badly.

I think that is true.

Then the next point is this. Has the soul a function that can be performed by nothing else? Take for example such actions as deliberating or taking charge and exercising control: is not the soul the only thing of which you can say that these are its proper and peculiar work?

That is so.

And again, living—is not that above all the function of the soul?

No doubt.

And we also speak of the soul as having a certain specific excellence or virtue?

Yes.

Then, Thrasymachus, if the soul is robbed of its peculiar virtue, it cannot possibly do its work well. It must exercise its power of controlling and taking charge well or ill according as it is itself in a good or a bad state.

That follows.

And did we not agree that the virtue of the soul is justice, and injustice its defect?

We did.

So it follows that a just soul, or in other words a just man, will live well; the unjust will not.

Apparently, according to your argument.

But living well involves well-being and happiness.

Naturally.

Then only the just man is happy; injustice will involve unhappiness.

Be it so.

But you cannot say it pays better to be unhappy.

Of course not.

Injustice then, my dear Thrasymachus, can never pay better than justice.

Well, he replied, this is a feast-day, and you may take all this as your share of the entertainment. . . .

C. Literature

Sophocles' Antigone *had its premiere about ten years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.). It is one of the most frequently read plays of antiquity.*

Antigone and Ismene were daughters of the tragic marriage of Oedipus, King of Thebes, to Iocasta, his mother, in consequence of which the king blinded himself and the queen committed suicide. After the death of Oedipus, whom they had accompanied in exile, the sisters returned to Thebes where a bitter quarrel between their brothers Eteocles and Polyneices ended with the flight of the latter. Polyneices then gained support from Greek enemies of Thebes and returned in force to attack the city. Both brothers were killed in the battle, and Creon, Iocasta's brother, became king of Thebes. Creon proclaimed a state funeral for the slain Eteocles while condemning the corpse of his other nephew to rot on the spot where it lay, because Polyneices had been a traitor to Thebes. It is at this point that Sophocles' drama begins.

—What is the nature of the divided loyalty faced by Antigone?

—Compare Plato's views on justice with those of Sophocles.

—It has been said tnat *Antigone* is the "most Greek" of all tragedies. What do you think is meant by this?

—Are there modern situations that resemble the dilemmas presented by the play?

1. SOPHOCLES: ANTIGONE (3)

Enter, from the palace, ANTIGONE *and* ISMENE

ANTIGONE. Ismene, my own sister, dear Ismene,

How many miseries our father caused!

And is there one of them that does not fall
On us while yet we live? Unhappiness,
Calamity, disgrace, dishonour—which
Of these have you and I not known? And now
Again: there is the order which they say
Brave Creon has proclaimed to all the city.
You understand? or do you not yet know
What outrage threatens one of those we love?

ISMENE. Of them, Antigone, I have not heard
Good news or bad—nothing, since we two sisters
Were robbed of our two brothers on one day
When each destroyed the other. During the night
The enemy has fled: so much I know,
But nothing more, either for grief or joy.

ANTIGONE. I knew it; therefore I have brought you here,
Outside the doors, to tell you secretly.

ISMENE. What is it? Some dark shadow is upon you.

ANTIGONE. Our brothers' burial.—Creon has ordained
Honour for one, dishonour for the other.
Eteocles, they say, has been entombed
With every solemn rite and ceremony
To do him honour in the world below;
But as for Polyneices, Creon has ordered
That none shall bury him or mourn for him;
He must be left to lie unwept, unburied,
For hungry birds of prey to swoop and feast
On his poor body. So he has decreed,
Our noble Creon, to all the citizens:
To you, to me. To me! And he is coming
To make it public here, that no one may
Be left in ignorance; nor does he hold it
Of little moment: he who disobeys
In any detail shall be put to death
By public stoning in the streets of Thebes.
So it is now for you to show if you
Are worthy, or unworthy, of your birth.

ISMENE. O my poor sister! If it has come to this
What can I do, either to help or hinder?

ANTIGONE. Will you join hands with me and share my task?

ISMENE. What dangerous enterprise have you in mind?

ANTIGONE. Will you join me in taking up the body?

ISMENE. What? Would you bury him, against the law?

ANTIGONE. No one shall say *I* failed him! I will bury
My brother—and yours too, if you will not.

ISMENE. You reckless girl! When Creon has forbidden?

ANTIGONE. He has no right to keep me from my own!
ISMENE. Think of our father, dear Antigone,
And how we saw him die, hated and scorned,
When his own hands had blinded his own eyes
Because of sins which he himself disclosed;
And how his mother-wife, two names in one,
Knotted a rope, and so destroyed herself.
And, last of all, upon a single day
Our brothers fought each other to the death
And shed upon the ground the blood that joined them.
Now you and I are left, alone; and think:
If we defy the King's prerogative
And break the law, our death will be more shameful
Even than theirs. Remember too that we
Are women, not made to fight with men. Since they
Who rule us now are stronger far than we,
In this and worse than this we must obey them.
Therefore, beseeching pardon from the dead,
Since what I do is done on hard compulsion,
I yield to those who have authority;
For useless meddling has no sense at all.
ANTIGONE. I will not urge you. Even if you should wish
To give your help I would not take it now.
Your choice is made. But I shall bury him.
And if I have to die for this pure crime,
I am content, for I shall rest beside him;
His love will answer mine. I have to please
The dead far longer than I need to please
The living; with them, I have to dwell for ever.
But you, if so you choose, you may dishonour
The sacred laws that Heaven holds in honour.
ISMENE. I do them no dishonour, but to act
Against the city's will I am too weak.
ANTIGONE. Make that your pretext! I will go and heap
The earth upon the brother whom I love.

[*They leave*]

* * *

Enter CREON, *attended*
[*Having called a meeting of his Counsellors*]
CREON. My lords: for what concerns the state, the gods
Who tossed it on the angry surge of strife
Have righted it again; and therefore you
By royal edict I have summoned here,
Chosen from all our number. I know well

How you revered the throne of Laius;
And then, when Oedipus maintained our state,
And when he perished, round his sons you rallied,
Still firm and steadfast in your loyalty.
Since they have fallen by a double doom
Upon a single day, two brothers each
Killing the other with polluted sword,
I now possess the throne and royal power
By right of nearest kinship with the dead.
There is no art that teaches us to know
The temper, mind or spirit of any man
Until he has been proved by government
And lawgiving. A man who rules a state
And will not ever steer the wisest course,
But is afraid, and says not what he thinks,
That man is worthless; and if any holds
A friend of more account than his own city,
I scorn him; for if I should see destruction
Threatening the safety of my citizens,
I would not hold my peace, nor would I count
That man my friend who was my country's foe,
Zeus be my witness. For be sure of this:
It is the city that protects us all;
She bears us through the storm; only when she
Rides safe and sound can we make loyal friends.
This I believe, and thus will I maintain
Our city's greatness.—Now, conformably,
Of Oedipus' two sons I have proclaimed
This edict: he who in his country's cause
Fought gloriously and so laid down his life,
Shall be entombed and graced with every rite
That men can pay to those who die with honour;
But for his brother, him called Polyneices,
Who came from exile to lay waste his land,
To burn the temples of his native gods,
To drink his kindred blood, and to enslave
The rest, I have proclaimed to Thebes that none
Shall give him funeral honours or lament him,
But leave him there unburied, to be devoured
By dogs and birds, mangled most hideously.
Such is my will; never shall I allow
The villain to win more honour than the upright;
But any who show love to this our city
In life and death alike shall win my praise.

CHORUS-LEADER. Such is your will, my lord; so you requite

Our city's champion and our city's foe.
You, being sovereign, make what laws you will
Both for the dead and those of us who live.

CREON. See then that you defend the law now made.

CHORUS-LEADER. No, lay that burden on some younger men.

CREON. I have appointed guards to watch the body.

CHORUS-LEADER. What further charge, then, do you lay on us?

CREON. Not to connive at those that disobey me.

CHORUS-LEADER. None are so foolish as to long for death.

CREON. Death is indeed the price, but love of gain
Has often lured a man to his destruction.
Enter a GUARD

* * *

GUARD. . . . The body: someone has
Just buried it, and gone away. He sprinkled
Dry dust on it, with all the sacred rites.

CREON. What? Buried it? What man has so defied me? . . .

CHORUS-LEADER. My lord, the thought has risen in my mind:
Do we not see in this the hand of God?

CREON. Silence! or you will anger me. You are
An old man: must you be a fool as well?
Intolerable, that you suppose the gods
Should have a single thought for this dead body.
What? should they honour him with burial
As one who served them well, when he had come
To burn their pillared temples, to destroy
Their treasuries, to devastate their land
And overturn its laws? Or have you noticed
The gods prefer the vile? No, from the first
There was a muttering against my edict,
Wagging of heads in secret, restiveness
And discontent with my authority.
I know that some of these perverted others
And bribed them to this act. Of all vile things
Current on earth, none is so vile as money.

[CREON *and* GUARD *leave*]

* * *

CHORUS. Wonders are many, yet of all
Things is Man the most wonderful.
He can sail on the stormy sea
Though the tempest rage, and the loud
Waves roar around, as he makes his
Path amid the towering surge.

Earth inexhaustible, ageless, he wearies, as
Backwards and forwards, from season to season, his
Ox-team drives along the ploughshare.

He can entrap the cheerful birds,
Setting a snare, and all the wild
Beasts of the earth he has learned to catch, and
Fish that teem in the deep sea, with
Nets knotted of stout cords; of
Such inventiveness is man.
Through his inventions he becomes lord
Even of the beasts of the mountain: the long-haired
Horse he subdues to the yoke on his neck, and the
Hill-bred bull, of strength untiring.

And speech he has learned, and thought
So swift, and the temper of mind
To dwell within cities, and not to lie bare
Amid the keen, biting frosts
Or cower beneath pelting rain;
Full of resource against all that comes to him
Is Man. Against Death alone
He is left with no defence.
But painful sickness he can cure
By his own skill.

Surpassing belief, the device and
Cunning that Man has attained,
And it bringeth him now to evil, now to good.
If he observe Law, and tread
The righteous path God ordained,
Honoured is he; dishonoured, the man whose reckless heart
Shall make him join hands with sin:
May I not think like him,
Nor may such an impious man
Dwell in my house.

Enter GUARD, *with* ANTIGONE

CHORUS-LEADER. What evil spirit is abroad? I know
Her well: Antigone. But how can I

Believe it? Why, O you unlucky daughter
Of an unlucky father, what is this?
Can it be you, so mad and so defiant,
So disobedient to a King's decree?

GUARD. Here is the one who did the deed, this girl;
We caught her burying him.—But where is Creon?

CHORUS-LEADER. He comes, just as you need him, from the palace.

Enter CREON, *attended* . . .

CREON. Why do you bring this girl? Where was she taken?

GUARD. In burying the body. That is all.

CREON. You know what you are saying? Do you mean it?

GUARD. I saw her giving burial to the corpse
You had forbidden. Is that plain and clear?

CREON. How did you see and take her so red-handed?

GUARD. It was like this. When we had reached the place,
Those dreadful threats of yours upon our heads,
We swept aside each grain of dust that hid
The clammy body, leaving it quite bare,
And sat down on a hill, to the windward side
That so we might avoid the smell of it.
We kept sharp look-out; each man roundly cursed
His neighbour, if he should neglect his duty.
So the time passed, until the blazing sun
Reached his mid-course and burned us with his heat.
Then, suddenly, a whirlwind came from heaven
And raised a storm of dust, which blotted out
The earth and sky; the air was filled with sand
And leaves ripped from the trees. We closed our eyes
And bore this visitation as we could.
At last it ended; then we saw the girl.
She raised a bitter cry, as will a bird
Returning to its nest and finding it
Despoiled, a cradle empty of its young.
So, when she saw the body bare, she raised
A cry of anguish mixed with imprecations
Laid upon those who did it; then at once
Brought handfuls of dry dust, and raised aloft
A shapely vase of bronze, and three times poured
The funeral libation for the dead.
We rushed upon her swiftly, seized our prey,
And charged her both with this offence and that.
She faced us calmly; she did not disown
The double crime. How glad I was!—and yet
How sorry too; it is a painful thing

To bring a friend to ruin. Still, for me,
My own escape comes before everything.
CREON. You there, who keep your eyes fixed on the ground,
Do you admit this, or do you deny it?
ANTIGONE. No, I do not deny it. I admit it.
CREON [*to* GUARD]. Then you may go; go where you like. You have
Been fully cleared of that grave accusation.
[*Exit* GUARD]
You: tell me briefly—I want no long speech:
Did you not know that this had been forbidden?
ANTIGONE. Of course I knew. There was a proclamation.
CREON. And so you dared to disobey the law?
ANTIGONE. It was not Zeus who published this decree,
Nor have the Powers who rule among the dead
Imposed such laws as this upon mankind;
Nor could I think that a decree of yours—
A man—could override the laws of Heaven
Unwritten and unchanging. Not of today
Or yesterday is their authority;
They are eternal; no man saw their birth.
Was I to stand before the gods' tribunal
For disobeying *them,* because I feared
A man? I knew that I should have to die,
Even without your edict; if I die
Before my time, why then, I count it gain;
To one who lives as I do, ringed about
With countless miseries, why, death is welcome.
For me to meet this doom is little grief;
But when my mother's son lay dead, had I
Neglected him and left him there unburied,
That would have caused me grief; this causes none.
And if you think it folly, then perhaps
I am accused of folly by the fool.
CHORUS-LEADER. The daughter shows her father's temper—fierce.
Defiant; she will not yield to any storm.
CREON. But it is those that are most obstinate
Suffer the greatest fall; the hardest iron,
Most fiercely tempered in the fire, that is
Most often snapped and splintered. I have seen
The wildest horses tamed, and only by
The tiny bit. There is no room for pride
In one who is a slave! This girl already
Had fully learned the art of insolence
When she transgressed the laws that I established;

And now to that she adds a second outrage—
To boast of what she did, and laugh at us.
Now she would be the man, not I, if she
Defeated me and did not pay for it.
But though she be my niece, or closer still
Than all our family, she shall not escape
The direst penalty; no, nor shall her sister:
I judge her guilty too; she played her part
In burying the body. Summon her.
Just now I saw her raving and distracted
Within the palace. So it often is:
Those who plan crime in secret are betrayed
Despite themselves; they show it in their faces.
But this is worst of all: to be convicted
And then to glorify the crime as virtue.

ANTIGONE. Would you do more than simply take and kill me?

CREON. I will have nothing more, and nothing less.

ANTIGONE. Then why delay? To me no word of yours
Is pleasing—God forbid it should be so!—
And everything in me displeases you.
Yet what could I have done to win renown
More glorious than giving burial
To my own brother? These men too would say it,
Except that terror cows them into silence.
A king has many a privilege: the greatest,
That he can say and do all that he will.

CREON. You are the only one in Thebes to think it!

ANTIGONE. These think as I do—but they dare not speak.

CREON. Have you no shame, not to conform with others?

ANTIGONE. To reverence a brother is no shame.

CREON. Was he no brother, he who died for Thebes?

ANTIGONE. One mother and one father gave them birth.

CREON. Honouring the traitor, you dishonour *him*.

ANTIGONE. He will not bear this testimony, in death.

CREON. Yes! if the traitor fare the same as he.

ANTIGONE. It was a brother, not a slave who died!

CREON. He died attacking Thebes; the other saved us.

ANTIGONE. Even so, the god of Death demands these rites.

CREON. The good demand more honour than the wicked.

ANTIGONE. Who knows? In death they may be reconciled.

CREON. Death does not make an enemy a friend!

ANTIGONE. Even so, I give both love, not share their hatred.

CREON. Down then to Hell! Love there, if love you must.
While I am living, no woman shall have rule. . . .

D. Art

In its simplest form polis *meant "citadel," a place of refuge for the citizenry in time of war. Athens' citadel was the Acropolis, a massive rock ledge jutting out in the center of the city. For centuries it contained the shrine of Athena, the city's patron goddess. Pericles' ambition to make Athens the most beautiful city in Greece resulted in the erection of a new temple to Athena, known as the Parthenon, on the highest point of the great rock.* (*See pages 40–41.*)

—What can you tell about the characteristics of Greek civilization from its art and architecture?

Questions For Thought

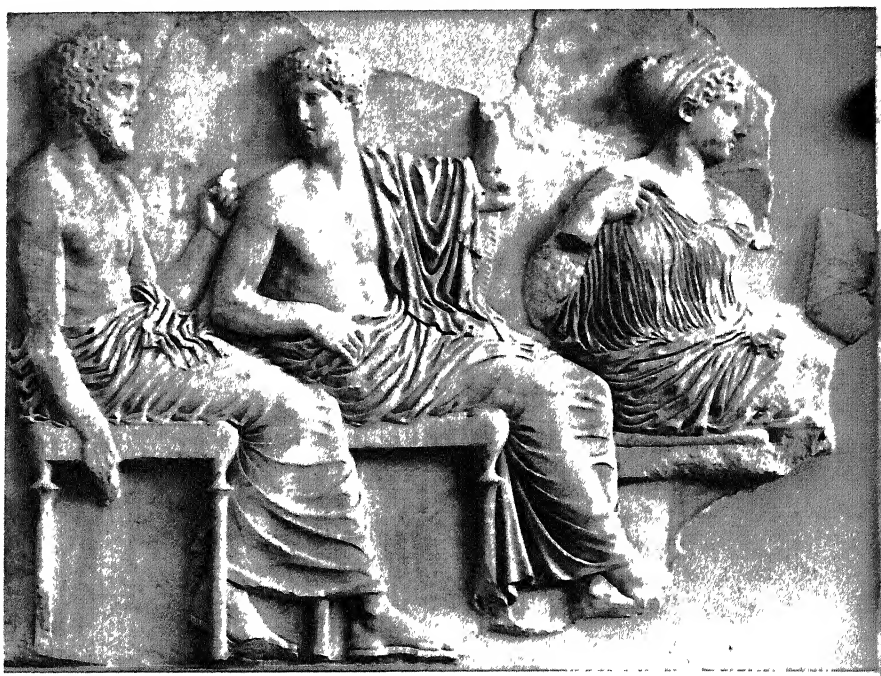
Can you now define what the Greeks thought the good life consisted of? Does such a "good life" have any relevance to life today?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1951), pp. 64–69, 70–76, 78–79.
(2) Plato, *The Republic*, trans. F. M. Cornford (New York–London: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 30–32, 37–39.
(3) Sophocles, *Three Tragedies*, trans. H. D. F. Kitto (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 3–5, 8–19.

The Acropolis with the ruins of the Parthenon, which today stands above a section of modern Athens.

A section of the decorative frieze on the Parthenon. The gods Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis.



PART III

The Romans and the Germans

Cornelius Tacitus, a great literary artist, has been one of the most influential historians of all time. Although his *Annals* and his *Histories,* describing the reigns of the Roman emperors between 14 and 97 A.D., survived the Dark Ages only in fragments, their literary qualities as well as their sophisticated analysis of character made them a major influence on European readers for centuries. His *Germania,* read by millions of German schoolboys since a manuscript was discovered in the sixteenth century, was used to buttress the myth of German racial superiority and to support the pleas of German militarists. But despite his great influence we know little about Tacitus the man.

Although his family probably came from what is now southern France, Tacitus was well placed in the society of first century Rome and held a succession of city offices, as did many young aristocrats. Born about 55 A.D., he married in 77 a daughter of Julius Agricola, who was just beginning seven years of service as governor of the province of Britain. By 97 Tacitus was consul, the top of the official ladder. In that year the Senate voted special thanks to him for successfully prosecuting a corrupt governor of a province in North Africa. An inscription in Asia Minor is evidence that around 112 Tacitus was serving as proconsul there. Some years later he died, but we do not know exactly when.

Had Tacitus traveled elsewhere during his career? We know that he had been away from Rome for four years after serving in the office of praetor; this absence must have been before the final three years (93-96) of the reign of the despotic emperor Domitian, because the historian seems to have been an eyewitness to the final events of his reign in Rome. Watching his fellow senators being punished for "treason" during this reign of terror may have strengthened his attachment for the days of the Republic before Julius Caesar, when consuls and senators had held the political reins securely. It may well be that Tacitus wrote his *Life of Agricola* (97) not only to praise his virtuous father-in-law but also, by implication, to attack Domitian, who had treated Agricola unjustly. Rome in the late 90's was so permeated with fear—fear of informers, fear of intrigue, fear of the whim of the emperor—that anything Tacitus wrote about politics probably had a second, subtler meaning to it.

Tacitus openly preached the old virtues of the Republic, even though he realized that the day of republicanism was past. In his histories he denounced scathingly the licentiousness and immorality of the idle high society about him and kept a spotlight trained on the ancestral moral standards, which he identified with Rome's rise to greatness. Early in 98 A.D., the year in which he wrote his *Germania,* Tacitus may have perceived a shift back to the old standards.

Revolt and assassination had removed Domitian from the scene in 96; in January, 98, Trajan inherited the purple. Although the new emperor, a general, did not return to Rome from the German frontier until a year later, Romans who knew him were confident that he would prove to be an able and enlightened ruler.

A. Tacitus on the Germans

The following reading is from the opening pages of Tacitus' Germania, *which depicted the life and character of the German tribes who lived on the northern border of the Roman Empire. The historical problem presented to the reader here is to determine what the Germans were like, and how, by inference, their society probably differed from that of the Romans. One good way to attack such a problem is to take systematic notes about a central historical question. If, for example, this question were phrased, "What were the social values most important to the Germans?" the student might approach it by asking first, "What was the most important character trait of a German tribesman?" One effective way of organizing notes on a question, so as to give them meaning, is to divide them into the categories of political, economic, social, religious, and aesthetic life. Although he should take precise, factual notes about these matters, the student ought to omit material that has no bearing on the question asked. A second issue is equally important. Is this report on the life of the Germans reliable? The student must look for evidence which will help him to separate facts from inaccuracies.*

—What, according to Tacitus, was the most important character trait of a German tribesman? Take notes bearing on this question, then identify each note according to category by labeling it p(politics), e(economics), s(social life), r(religion), or a(aesthetics). Some items will fall into more than one category.
—How credible is Tacitus? Do you find evidence that he was an eyewitness to events in Germany?
—Do you find incorrect statements of fact or credulous acceptance of statistics or opinions?
—Does Tacitus indicate his sources plainly? Do you believe that returned soldiers or merchants would have been reliable witnesses?
—Does Tacitus distinguish clearly between evidence and inference by his choice of words?
—Do his conclusions follow from the evidence he cites?
—What inferences can you draw about Roman society from the *Germania*? How reliable are such inferences?

1. TACITUS: GERMANY AND ITS TRIBES (1)

1. Germany is separated from the Galli, the Rhæti, and Pannonii, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; mountain ranges, or the fear which each feels for the other, divide it from the Sarmatæ and Daci. Elsewhere ocean girds it, embracing broad peninsulas and islands of unexplored extent, where certain

tribes and kingdoms are newly known to us, revealed by war. The Rhine springs from a precipitous and inaccessible height of the Rhætian Alps, bends slightly westward, and mingles with the Northern Ocean. The Danube pours down from the gradual and gently rising slope of Mount Abnoba, and visits many nations, to force its way at last through six channels into the Pontus; a seventh mouth is lost in marshes.

2. The Germans themselves I should regard as aboriginal, and not mixed at all with other races through immigration or intercourse. For, in former times, it was not by land but on shipboard that those who sought to emigrate would arrive; and the boundless and, so to speak, hostile ocean beyond us, is seldom entered by a sail from our world. And, beside the perils of rough and unknown seas, who would leave Asia, or Africa, or Italy for Germany, with its wild country, its inclement skies, its sullen manners and aspect, unless indeed it were his home? In their ancient songs, their only way of remembering or recording the past, they celebrate an earth-born god, Tuisco, and his son Mannus, as the origin of their race, as their founders. To Mannus they assign three sons, from whose names, they say, the coast tribes are called Ingævones; those of the interior, Herminones; all the rest, Istævones. Some, with the freedom of conjecture permitted by antiquity, assert that the god had several descendants, and the nation several appellations, as Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, Vandilii, and that these are genuine old names. The name Germany, on the other hand, they say, is modern and newly introduced, from the fact that the tribes which first crossed the Rhine and drove out the Gauls, and are now called Tungrians, were then called Germans. Thus what was the name of a tribe, and not of a race, gradually prevailed, till all called themselves by this self-invented name of Germans, which the conquerors had first employed to inspire terror.

3. They say that Hercules, too, once visited them; and when going into battle, they sing of him first of all heroes. They have also those songs of theirs, by the recital of which ("baritus," they call it), they rouse their courage, while from the note they augur the result of the approaching conflict. For, as their line shouts, they inspire or feel alarm. It is not so much an articulate sound, as a general cry of valour. They aim chiefly at a harsh note and a confused roar, putting their shields to their mouth, so that, by reverberation, it may swell into a fuller and deeper sound. Ulysses, too, is believed by some, in his long legendary wanderings, to have found his way into this ocean, and, having visited German soil, to have founded and named the town of Asciburgium, which stands on the bank of the Rhine, and is to this day inhabited. They even say that an altar dedicated to Ulysses, with the addition of the name of his father, Laertes, was formerly discovered on this same spot, and that certain monuments and tombs, with Greek inscriptions, still exist on the borders of Germany and Rhætia. These statements I have no intention of sustaining by proofs, or of refuting; every one may believe or disbelieve them as he feels inclined.

4. For my own part, I agree with those who think that the tribes of Germany are free from all taint of intermarriages with foreign nations, and that they appear as a distinct, unmixed race, like none but themselves. Hence, too, the

same physical peculiarities throughout so vast a population. All have fierce blue eyes, red hair, huge frames, fit only for a sudden exertion. They are less able to bear laborious work. Heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them.

5. Their country, though somewhat various in appearance, yet generally either bristles with forests or reeks with swamps; it is more rainy on the side of Gaul, bleaker on that of Noricum and Pannonia. It is productive of grain, but unfavourable to fruit-bearing trees; it is rich in flocks and herds, but these are for the most part undersized, and even the cattle have not their usual beauty or noble head. It is number that is chiefly valued; they are in fact the most highly prized, indeed the only riches of the people. Silver and gold the gods have refused to them, whether in kindness or in anger I cannot say. I would not, however, affirm that no vein of German soil produces gold or silver, for who has ever made a search? They care but little to possess or use them. You may see among them vessels of silver, which have been presented to their envoys and chieftains, held as cheap as those of clay. The border population, however, value gold and silver for their commercial utility, and are familiar with, and show preference for, some of our coins. The tribes of the interior use the simpler and more ancient practice of the barter of commodities. They like the old and well-known money, coins milled, or showing a two-horse chariot. They likewise prefer silver to gold, not from any special liking, but because a large number of silver pieces is more convenient for use among dealers in cheap and common articles.

6. Even iron is not plentiful with them, as we infer from the character of their weapons. But few use swords or long lances. They carry a spear (*framea* is their name for it), with a narrow and short head, but so sharp and easy to wield that the same weapon serves, according to circumstances, for close or distant conflict. As for the horse-soldier, he is satisfied with a shield and spear; the foot-soldiers also scatter showers of missiles, each man having several and hurling them to an immense distance, and being naked or lightly clad with a little cloak. There is no display about their equipment: their shields alone are marked with very choice colours. A few only have corslets, and just one or two here and there a metal or leathern helmet. Their horses are remarkable neither for beauty nor for fleetness. Nor are they taught various evolutions after our fashion, but are driven straight forward, or so as to make one wheel to the right in such a compact body that none is left behind another. On the whole, one would say that their chief strength is in their infantry, which fights along with the cavalry; admirably adapted to the action of the latter is the swiftness of certain foot-soldiers, who are picked from the entire youth of their country, and stationed in front of the line. Their number is fixed,—a hundred from each canton; and from this they take their name among their countrymen, so that what was originally a mere number has now become a title of distinction. Their line of battle is drawn up in a wedge-like formation. To give ground, provided you return to the attack, is considered prudence rather than cowardice. The bodies of their slain they carry off even in indecisive engagements. To abandon

your shield is the basest of crimes; nor may a man thus disgraced be present at the sacred rites, or enter their council; many, indeed, after escaping from battle, have ended their infamy with the halter.

7. They choose their kings by birth, their generals for merit. These kings have not unlimited or arbitrary power, and the generals do more by example than by authority. If they are energetic, if they are conspicuous, if they fight in the front, they lead because they are admired. But to reprimand, to imprison, even to flog, is permitted to the priests alone, and that not as a punishment, or at the general's bidding, but, as it were, by the mandate of the god whom they believe to inspire the warrior. They also carry with them into battle certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves. And what most stimulates their courage is, that their squadrons or battalions, instead of being formed by chance or by a fortuitous gathering, are composed of families and clans. Close by them, too, are those dearest to them, so that they hear the shrieks of women, the cries of infants. *They* are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery—*they* are his most generous applauders. The soldier brings his wounds to mother and wife, who shrink not from counting or even demanding them and who administer both food and encouragement to the combatants.

8. Tradition says that armies already wavering and giving way have been rallied by women who, with earnest entreaties and bosoms laid bare, have vividly represented the horrors of captivity, which the Germans fear with such extreme dread on behalf of their women, that the strongest tie by which a state can be bound is the being required to give, among the number of hostages, maidens of noble birth. They even believe that the sex has a certain sanctity and prescience, and they do not despise their counsels, or make light of their answers. In Vespasian's days we saw Veleda, long regarded by many as a divinity. In former times, too, they venerated Aurinia, and many other women, but not with servile flatteries, or with sham deification.

9. Mercury is the deity whom they chiefly worship, and on certain days they deem it right to sacrifice to him even with human victims. Hercules and Mars they appease with more lawful offerings. Some of the Suevi also sacrifice to Isis. Of the occasion and origin of this foreign rite I have discovered nothing, but that the image, which is fashioned like a light galley, indicates an imported worship. The Germans, however, do not consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to the abstraction which they see only in spiritual worship.

10. Augury and divination by lot no people practise more diligently. The use of the lots is simple. A little bough is lopped off a fruit-bearing tree, and cut into small pieces; these are distinguished by certain marks, and thrown carelessly and at random over a white garment. In public questions the priest of the particular state, in private the father of the family, invokes the gods, and, with his eyes towards heaven, takes up each piece three times, and finds in them a meaning according to the mark previously impressed on them. If they prove unfavourable, there is no further consultation that day about the matter; if they

sanction it, the confirmation of augury is still required. For they are also familiar with the practice of consulting the notes and the flight of birds. It is peculiar to this people to seek omens and monitions from horses. Kept at the public expense, in these same woods and groves, are white horses, pure from the taint of earthly labour; these are yoked to a sacred car, and accompanied by the priest and the king, or chief of the tribe, who note their neighings and snortings. No species of augury is more trusted, not only by the people and by the nobility, but also by the priests, who regard themselves as the ministers of the gods, and the horses as acquainted with their will. They have also another method of observing auspices, by which they seek to learn the result of an important war. Having taken, by whatever means, a prisoner from the tribe with whom they are at war, they pit him against a picked man of their own tribe, each combatant using the weapons of their country. The victory of the one or the other is accepted as an indication of the issue.

11. About minor matters the chiefs deliberate, about the more important the whole tribe. Yet even when the final decision rests with the people, the affair is always thoroughly discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except in the case of a sudden emergency, on certain fixed days, either at new or at full moon; for this they consider the most auspicious season for the transaction of business. Instead of reckoning by days as we do, they reckon by nights, and in this manner fix both their ordinary and their legal appointments. Night they regard as bringing on day. Their freedom has this disadvantage, that they do not meet simultaneously or as they are bidden, but two or three days are wasted in the delays of assembling. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is to express approbation with their weapons.

12. In their councils an accusation may be preferred or a capital crime prosecuted. Penalties are distinguished according to the offence. Traitors and deserters are hanged on trees; the coward, the unwarlike, the man stained with abominable vices, is plunged into the mire of the morass, with a hurdle put over him. This distinction in punishment means that crime, they think, ought, in being punished, to be exposed, while infamy ought to be buried out of sight. Lighter offences, too, have penalties proportioned to them; he who is convicted, is fined in a certain number of horses or of cattle. Half of the fine is paid to the king or to the state, half to the person whose wrongs are avenged and to his relatives. In these same councils they also elect the chief magistrates, who administer law in the cantons and the towns. Each of these has a hundred associates chosen from the people, who support him with their advice and influence.

13. They transact no public or private business without being armed. It is not, however, usual for anyone to wear arms till the state has recognised his power to use them. Then in the presence of the council one of the chiefs, or

the young man's father, or some kinsman, equips him with a shield and a spear. These arms are what the "toga" is with us, the first honour with which youth is invested. Up to this time he is regarded as a member of a household, afterwards as a member of the commonwealth. Very noble birth or great services rendered by the father secure for lads the rank of a chief; such lads attach themselves to men of mature strength and of long approved valour. It is no shame to be seen among a chief's followers. Even in his escort there are gradations of rank, dependent on the choice of the man to whom they are attached. These followers vie keenly with each other as to who shall rank first with his chief, the chiefs as to who shall have the most numerous and the bravest followers. It is an honour as well as a source of strength to be thus always surrounded by a large body of picked youths; it is an ornament in peace and a defence in war. And not only in his own tribe but also in the neighbouring states it is the renown and glory of a chief to be distinguished for the number and valour of his followers, for such a man is courted by embassies, is honoured with presents, and the very prestige of his name often settles a war.

14. When they go into battle, it is a disgrace for the chief to be surpassed in valour, a disgrace for his followers not to equal the valour of the chief. And it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief, and returned from the field. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one's own brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief. If their native state sinks into the sloth of prolonged peace and repose, many of its noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes which are waging some war, both because inaction is odious to their race, and because they win renown more readily in the midst of peril, and cannot maintain a numerous following except by violence and war. Indeed, men look to the liberality of their chief for their war-horse and their blood-stained and victorious lance. Feasts and entertainments, which, though inelegant, are plentifully furnished, are their only pay. The means of this bounty come from war and rapine. Nor are they as easily persuaded to plough the earth and to wait for the year's produce as to challenge an enemy and earn the honour of wounds. Nay, they actually think it tame and stupid to acquire by the sweat of toil what they might win by their blood.

15. Whenever they are not fighting, they pass much of their time in the chase, and still more in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and to feasting, the bravest and the most warlike doing nothing, and surrendering the management of the household, of the home, and of the land, to the women, the old men, and all the weakest members of the family. They themselves lie buried in sloth, a strange combination in their nature that the same men should be so fond of idleness, so averse to peace. It is the custom of the states to bestow by voluntary and individual contribution on the chiefs a present of cattle or of grain, which, while accepted as a compliment, supplies their wants. They are particularly delighted by gifts from neighbouring tribes, which are sent not only by individuals but also by the state, such as choice steeds, heavy armour, trappings, and neck-chains. We have now taught them to accept money also.

16. It is well known that the nations of Germany have no cities, and that they do not even tolerate closely contiguous dwellings. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. Their villages they do not arrange in our fashion, with the buildings connected and joined together, but every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of fire, or because they do not know how to build. No use is made by them of stone or tile; they employ timber for all purposes, rude masses without ornament or attractiveness. Some parts of their buildings they stain more carefully with a clay so clear and bright that it resembles painting, or a coloured design. They are wont also to dig out subterranean caves, and pile on them great heaps of dung, as a shelter from winter and as a receptacle for the year's produce, for by such places they mitigate the rigour of the cold. And should an enemy approach, he lays waste the open country, while what is hidden and buried is either not known to exist, or else escapes him from the very fact that it has to be searched for.

17. They all wrap themselves in a cloak which is fastened with a clasp, or, if this is not forthcoming, with a thorn, leaving the rest of their persons bare. They pass whole days on the hearth by the fire. The wealthiest are distinguished by a dress which is not flowing, like that of the Sarmatæ and Parthi, but is tight, and exhibits each limb. They also wear the skins of wild beasts; the tribes on the Rhine and Danube in a careless fashion, those of the interior with more elegance, as not obtaining other clothing by commerce. These select certain animals, the hides of which they strip off and vary them with the spotted skins of beasts, the produce of the outer ocean, and of seas unknown to us. The women have the same dress as the men, except that they generally wrap themselves in linen garments, which they embroider with purple, and do not lengthen out the upper part of their clothing into sleeves. The upper and lower arm is thus bare, and the nearest part of the bosom is also exposed.

18. Their marriage code, however, is strict, and indeed no part of their manners is more praiseworthy. Almost alone among barbarians they are content with one wife, except a very few among them, and these not from sensuality, but because their noble birth procures for them many offers of alliance. The wife does not bring a dower to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relatives are present, and pass judgment on the marriage-gifts, gifts not meant to suit a woman's taste, nor such as a bride would deck herself with, but oxen, a caparisoned steed, a shield, a lance, and a sword. With these presents the wife is espoused, and she herself in her turn brings her husband a gift of arms. This they count their strongest bond of union, these their sacred mysteries, these their gods of marriage. Lest the woman should think herself to stand apart from aspirations after noble deeds and from the perils of war, she is reminded by the ceremony which inaugurates marriage that she is her husband's partner in toil and danger, destined to suffer and to dare with him alike both in peace and in war. The yoked oxen, the harnessed steed, the gift of arms, proclaim this fact. She must live and die with the feeling that she is receiving what she must hand down to her children neither tarnished nor depreciated, what

future daughters-in-law may receive, and may be so passed on to her grandchildren.

19. Thus with their virtue protected they live uncorrupted by the allurements of public shows or the stimulant of feastings. Clandestine correspondence is equally unknown to men and women. Very rare for so numerous a population is adultery, the punishment for which is prompt, and in the husband's power. Having cut off the hair of the adulteress and stripped her naked, he expels her from the house in the presence of her kinsfolk, and then flogs her through the whole village. The loss of chastity meets with no indulgence; neither beauty, youth, nor wealth will procure the culprit a husband. No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor do they call it the fashion to corrupt and to be corrupted. Still better is the condition of those states in which only maidens are given in marriage, and where the hopes and expectations of a bride are then finally terminated. They receive one husband, as having one body and one life, that they may have no thoughts beyond, no further-reaching desires, that they may love not so much the husband as the married state. To limit the number of their children or to destroy any of their subsequent offspring is accounted infamous, and good habits are here more effectual than good laws elsewhere.

20. In every household the children, naked and filthy, grow up with those stout frames and limbs which we so much admire. Every mother suckles her own offspring, and never entrusts it to servants and nurses. The master is not distinguished from the slave by being brought up with greater delicacy. Both live amid the same flocks and lie on the same ground till the freeborn are distinguished by age and recognised by merit. The young men marry late, and their vigour is thus unimpaired. Nor are the maidens hurried into marriage; the same age and a similar stature is required; well-matched and vigorous they wed, and the offspring reproduce the strength of the parents. Sister's sons are held in as much esteem by their uncles as by their fathers; indeed, some regard the relation as even more sacred and binding, and prefer it in receiving hostages, thinking thus to secure a stronger hold on the affections and a wider bond for the family. But every man's own children are his heirs and successors, and there are no wills. Should there be no issue, the next in succession to the property are his brothers and his uncles on either side. The more relatives he has, the more numerous his connections, the more honoured is his old age; nor are there any advantages in childlessness.

21. It is a duty among them to adopt the feuds as well as the friendships of a father or a kinsman. These feuds are not implacable; even homicide is expiated by the payment of a certain number of cattle and of sheep, and the satisfaction is accepted by the entire family, greatly to the advantage of the state, since feuds are dangerous in proportion to a people's freedom.

No nation indulges more profusely in entertainments and hospitality. To exclude any human being from their roof is thought impious; every German, according to his means, receives his guest with a well-furnished table. When his supplies are exhausted, he who was but now the host becomes the guide and companion to further hospitality, and without invitation they go to the next

house. It matters not; they are entertained with like cordiality. No one distinguishes between an acquaintance and a stranger, as regards the rights of hospitality. It is usual to give the departing guest whatever he may ask for, and a present in return is asked with as little hesitation. They are greatly charmed with gifts, but they expect no return for what they give, nor feel any obligation for what they receive.

22. On waking from sleep, which they generally prolong to a late hour of the day, they take a bath, oftenest of warm water, which suits a country where winter is the longest of the seasons. After their bath they take their meal, each having a separate seat and table of his own. Then they go armed to business, or no less often to their festal meetings. To pass an entire day and night in drinking disgraces no one. Their quarrels, as might be expected with intoxicated people, are seldom fought out with mere abuse, but commonly with wounds and bloodshed. Yet it is at their feasts that they generally consult on the reconciliation of enemies, on the forming of matrimonial alliances, on the choice of chiefs, finally even on peace and war, for they think that at no time is the mind more open to simplicity of purpose or more warmed to noble aspirations. A race without either natural or acquired cunning, they disclose their hidden thoughts in the freedom of the festivity. Thus the sentiments of all having been discovered and laid bare, the discussion is renewed on the following day, and from each occasion its own peculiar advantage is derived. They deliberate when they have no power to dissemble; they resolve when error is impossible.

23. A liquor for drinking is made out of barley or other grain, and fermented into a certain resemblance to wine. The dwellers on the river-bank also buy wine. Their food is of a simple kind, consisting of wild-fruit, fresh game, and curdled milk. They satisfy their hunger without elaborate preparation and without delicacies. In quenching their thirst they are not equally moderate. If you indulge their love of drinking by supplying them with as much as they desire, they will be overcome by their own vices as easily as by the arms of an enemy.

24. One and the same kind of spectacle is always exhibited at every gathering. Naked youths who practise the sport bound in the dance amid swords and lances that threaten their lives. Experience gives them skill, and skill again gives grace; profit or pay are out of the question; however reckless their pastime, its reward is the pleasure of the spectators. Strangely enough they make games of hazard a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that, when every other resource has failed, on the last and final throw they stake the freedom of their own persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery; though the younger and stronger, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is their stubborn persistency in a bad practice; they themselves call it honour. Slaves of this kind the owners part with in the way of commerce, and also to relieve themselves from the scandal of such a victory.

25. The other slaves are not employed after our manner with distinct domestic duties assigned to them, but each one has the management of a house and home of his own. The master requires from the slave a certain quantity of

grain, of cattle, and of clothing, as he would from a tenant, and this is the limit of subjection. All other household functions are discharged by the wife and children. To strike a slave or to punish him with bonds or with hard labour is a rare occurrence. They often kill them, not in enforcing strict discipline, but on the impulse of passion, as they would an enemy, only it is done with impunity. The freedmen do not rank much above slaves, and are seldom of any weight in the family, never in the state, with the exception of those tribes which are ruled by kings. There indeed they rise above the freedborn and the noble; elsewhere the inferiority of the freedman marks the freedom of the state.

26. Of lending money on interest and increasing it by compound interest they know nothing,—a more effectual safeguard than if it were prohibited.

Land proportioned to the number of inhabitants is occupied by the whole community in turn, and afterwards divided among them according to rank. A wide expanse of plains makes the partition easy. They till fresh fields every year, and they have still more land than enough; with the richness and extent of their soil, they do not laboriously exert themselves in planting orchards, inclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Corn is the only produce required from the earth; hence even the year itself is not divided by them into as many seasons as with us. Winter, spring, and summer have both a meaning and a name; the name and blessings of autumn are alike unknown.

27. In their funerals there is no pomp; they simply observe the custom of burning the bodies of illustrious men with certain kinds of wood. They do not heap garments or spices on the funeral pile. The arms of the dead man and in some cases his horse are consigned to the fire. A turf mound forms the tomb. Monuments with their lofty elaborate splendour they reject as oppressive to the dead. Tears and lamentations they soon dismiss; grief and sorrow but slowly. It is thought becoming for women to bewail, for men to remember, the dead.

Such on the whole is the account which I have received of the origin and manners of the entire German people. I will now touch on the institutions and religious rites of the separate tribes, pointing out how far they differ, and also what nations have migrated from Germany into Gaul. . . .

Questions for Thought

Generations of German schoolboys read and believed Tacitus. Which parts of his description of early German society may have made an especially strong impression on them?

What should be the attitude of the historian toward the testimony of a writer whom he believes to be wrong in some particulars? Should the writer's whole account be considered unreliable?

SOURCE OF SELECTION

(1) *The Agricola and Germania of Tacitus,* trans. by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (London, 1879).

PART IV

The Romans and the Christians

Only three centuries after its birth Christianity became the official religion of the Roman state and began to exercise immense influence in the Roman Empire. Yet the historian knows surprisingly little about the origins, development, and spread of Christianity during this era. It appears that during the early stages of the growth of the Church, its history was ignored by pagan and Christian alike: the pagan writer very likely either did not know or did not care about a movement that involved primarily the lower orders of society and that must have seemed of slight significance to intellectuals; Christians probably saw little point in recording their history when the second coming of the Messiah and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom were expected soon. The historian, in attempting to draw conclusions about the influence of Christianity and the Roman world on each other, must, therefore, exercise his critical skills on materials very limited in quantity. Fortunately, the surviving documentary evidence treats Christianity from several different points of view and at several different points in time.

The documents given below are among the chief sources of information about the Church from the crucifixion of Jesus Christ (about the year 33 A.D.) through the latter half of the fourth century. These four centuries witnessed the expansion of Rome's frontiers to their greatest extent, under Trajan (98-117), when the Pax Romana prevailed from Britain to the Caspian Sea and from the Rhine and Danube to the Sahara. They also witnessed the contraction of these limits little by little as Roman power waned under the impact of civil strife, internal economic and social difficulties, and barbarian invasion. But the Roman hegemony facilitated the spread of the faith. Missionaries moved about with relative freedom, carrying the Gospel to the most remote sections with little interference or persecution. Christians were unpopular, objects of suspicion almost from the beginning, due in part to the strangeness of their behavior and the secrecy with which they practiced some of their rituals, but official Roman policy was fairly lax. The first of the persecutions against the new sect, under Nero in 64 A.D., was atypical since it seems to have been directed against Christians as an unpopular social group rather than as a religious minority. The next systematic persecution, under Maximinus from 235 to 238, was confined to Palestine and the city of Rome. It was followed by three general—but relatively brief—attempts to stamp out Christianity throughout the Empire, the last of which ended when Galerius granted an edict of toleration in 311.

The student should approach the following documents from the point of view of an historian trying to reconstruct from these fragments what was hap-

pening to the Christian Church as it grew within the Roman Empire. In judging the reliability of the information about the period contributed by each source he should distinguish carefully between statements presented as evidence by the author and statements that are the author's inferences. Was his evidence reliable? Was he an eye witness? What were his sources of information? Was the author biased? Is bias clear or concealed? Does the tone of the writing indicate anything about the author's attitude toward the subject? After evaluating the documents and collecting his data, the student should construct as coherent and full an account as possible of the growth and spread of Christianity.

A. Christianity in its Infancy

The Acts of the Apostles, *the fifth book of the Christian New Testament, describes the transformation of Christianity from the faith of a sect dominated by Jews and Jewish law into a religion appealing principally to non-Jews. The* Acts *catapults the reader into the troubled world of first century Palestine. Judaism, under the pressure of foreign domination and successive waves of Greek and Roman cultural influence, was a religion in crisis. Two main factions contended for political and religious dominance. An aristocratic Sadducee minority, committed to a strictly literal interpretation of Biblical law and to support of Roman rule, controlled the Temple in Jerusalem. The Pharisees, their chief opponents, denounced the foreigners and urged the expansion and modification of Biblical law to meet new conditions. A host of smaller sects rejected as sterile the controversy between the Pharisees and Sadducees and urged the possibility of the immediate redemption of the Jews through the coming of a new leader, a Messiah.*

The Acts *describes the growth and change of one of these sects, the Christians. While the authorship of the book is not certain, most scholars now believe that the author of the* Gospel of Luke *composed it, probably some time after the collapse of the Jewish revolt against Rome in 70 A.D. The council of the early Christian leaders in Jerusalem, which occupies an important place in the narrative of the* Acts, *took place in 49 A.D. Luke was not personally involved in the earlier events he described. He relied on the memories of older Christians, on a young Christian tradition handed down to the second and third generation of converts, and on a few written accounts of the first years of the new religion, which have since been lost.*

The most powerful image in the Acts *is the figure of Saul of Tarsus. A well-to-do, educated Roman citizen from a cosmopolitan city, Saul was a very different sort of man from most of the other Christians. The account of his conversion to Christianity on the road to Damascus established his claim to direct authority from Jesus independent of the grant given to the other apostles. Saul, who took the name of Paul, was willing to sacrifice the nationalistic values of Judaism for a new promise of immediate salvation for all mankind. He pushed beyond Peter, who took the first steps away from Judaism, and squarely met the*

challenge of James, the brother of Jesus and the leader of the Church in Jerusalem. Luke obviously shared Paul's values. His report of Paul's trial may very well have been intended to convince Roman officials of the peaceful character of the Christians in order to dissociate them from the rebellious Jews.

Luke's account confronts the reader with a major problem in historical method. How reliable is a document that was composed to serve the purposes of a religious movement? Will only a devout Christian historian find this work a useful tool for understanding the past? The kinds of answers the historian gets depend in part on the kinds of questions he asks. In this case most historians would probably agree that the most useful kind of question is one which probes deeply into the significance of events (Why did Christianity attract converts in the world of the first century A.D.?). Such a question is more important to understanding the new religion than one that deals with the more superficial aspects of events, even though the latter serves as a building block for the story (What route did Paul follow on his first mission?). Both kinds, however, are more rewarding than a question whose answer depends on religious convictions rather than on evidence that can be agreed on by men of differing religious opinions (Were the miracles described in the Acts of the Apostles *genuine?). Fruitful historical questions are not, of course, always to be answered by the materials at hand. For the moment, however, the student should try to pose questions which do exploit the historical information available in the* Acts.

—Read the selections from the *Acts* below to see what kind of historical information they provide. Then phrase two questions of historical significance and read and take notes on the selections to answer your questions as well as possible.

1. SAUL BECOMES A CONVERT (1)

And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles. And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him. As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison. Therefore they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word. . . .

And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem.

And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shone round about him a light from heaven, and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him,

"Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"

And he said, "Who art thou, Lord?"

And the Lord said,

"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

And he trembling and astonished said,

"Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

And the Lord said unto him, "Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do."

And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.

And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, "Ananias!" And he said, "Behold, I am here, Lord."

And the Lord said unto him, "Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth, and hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight."

Then Ananias answered, "Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem: and here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name."

But the Lord said unto him, "Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: for I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake."

And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, "Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost."

And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.

Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said: "Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?"

But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him but their laying await was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.

And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he essayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus. And he was with them

coming in and going out at Jerusalem. And he spoke boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.

Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.

2. THE DECISION TO ACCEPT GENTILES (2)

There was a certain man in Cæsarea called Cornelius, a centurion of the band called the Italian band, a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always. He saw in a vision, evidently about the ninth hour of the day, an angel of God coming in to him, and saying unto him, "Cornelius!"

And when he looked on him, he was afraid, and said, "What is it, Lord?"

And he said unto him, "Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God. And now send men to Joppa, and call for one Simon, whose surname is Peter. He lodgeth with one Simon a tanner, whose house is by the sea side: he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do."

And when the angel which spoke unto Cornelius was departed, he called two of his household servants, and a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually; and when he had declared all these things unto them, he sent them to Joppa.

On the morrow, as they went on their journey, and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour: and he became very hungry, and would have eaten: but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth: wherein were all manner of fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him,

"Rise, Peter; kill, and eat."

But Peter said, "Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean."

And the voice spoke unto him again the second time,

"What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common."

This was done thrice: and the vessel was received up again into heaven.

Now while Peter doubted in himself what this vision which he had seen should mean, behold, the men which were sent from Cornelius had made enquiry for Simon's house, and stood before the gate, and called, and asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, were lodged there. . . . Then called he them in, and lodged them. And on the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And the morrow after they entered into Cæsarea. And Cornelius waited for them, and had called together his kinsmen and near friends. And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell

down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, "Stand up; I myself also am a man."

And as he talked with him, he went in, and found many that were come together. And he said unto them, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for: I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me?"

And Cornelius said, "Four days ago I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and, behold, a man stood before me in bright clothing, and said, 'Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God. Send therefore to Joppa, and call hither Simon, whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Simon a tanner by the sea side: who, when he cometh, shall speak unto thee.' Immediately therefore I sent to thee; and thou hast well done that thou art come. Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God."

Then Peter opened his mouth, and said,

"Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness; is accepted with him. The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all), that word, I say, ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached: how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree. Him God raised up the third day, and showed him openly: not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead. To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins."

While Peter yet spoke these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter,

"Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?"

And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.

And the apostles and brethren that were in Judæa heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them."

But Peter rehearsed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order unto them, saying. "The Spirit bade me go with them, nothing doubting . . . And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, 'John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I, that I could withstand God?"

When they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spoke unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.

Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch, who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord. For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord.

Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul: and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.

3. PAUL SPREADS THE WORD TO THE GENTILES (3)

Paul and his company . . . came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, "Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on."

Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said,

"Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience. . . . God according to his promise hath raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus. . . . Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. And we declare

unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee' . . . ."

And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them next sabbath. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God.

But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spoke against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, 'I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.' "

And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region. But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.

4. THE QUESTION OF RITUAL (4)

And certain men which came down from Judæa taught the brethren, and said, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved."

When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. And being brought on their way by the church, they passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with them. But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses.

And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said unto them,

"Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bore them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were

able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they."

Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them. And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying,

"Men and brethren, hearken unto me. Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets. . . . Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God: but that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood. . . ."

Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren: and they wrote letters by them after this manner:

> *The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia:*
>
> *Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, "Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law:" to whom we gave no such commandment: it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.*

So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch: and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle: which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation. And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them. And after they had tarried there a space, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the apostles. Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still. Paul also and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also. . . .

5. THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF PAUL (5)

And after those days we took up our carriages, and went up to Jerusalem. There went with us also certain of the disciples of Cæsarea, and brought with them one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day

following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said unto him,

"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee: we have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication."

Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them. And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, "Men of Israel, help! This is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place: and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place." (For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.)

And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them: and when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done. And some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude: and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people. For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, "Away with him! . . ."

Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. But Festus answered that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. "Let them therefore," said he, "which among you

are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him."

And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea; and the next day sitting on the judgment seat commanded Paul to be brought. And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove. While he answered for himself, "Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Caesar, have I offended anything at all."

But Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?"

Then said Paul,

"I stand at Caesar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal unto Caesar."

Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered,

"Hast thou appealed unto Caesar? unto Caesar shalt thou go!"

B. Early Persecution of Christians

The persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Nero occurred in 64 A.D. A fire had ravaged a large part of Rome, and Nero, putting the blame on the Christians, sought them out and punished them as described below by Tacitus. Tacitus was a boy at the time. The Annals, *the work from which the passage is taken, appeared some fifty years after the event.*

—What does the excerpt reveal about Tacitus as a historian? As a man?
—What was the basis of the Roman accusation against the Christians of "hatred against mankind"?
—How might you expect the account to differ had it been written by a devout Christian such as St. Luke?

1. TACITUS ON THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION (6)

. . . Such indeed were the precautions of human wisdom. The next thing was to seek means of propitiating the gods, and recourse was had to the Sibylline books, by the direction of which prayers were offered to Vulcanus, Ceres, and Prosperina. Juno, too, was entreated by the matrons, first, in the Capitol, then on the nearest part of the coast, whence water was procured to sprinkle the fane and image of the goddess. And there were sacred banquets and nightly vigils celebrated by married women. But all human efforts, all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, did not banish the sinister belief that

the conflagration was the result of an order. Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.

Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

C. The Problem of Official Policy

The letters below were written about 111-112 A.D. At that time the orator and statesman Pliny the Younger was special legate to the province of Pontus-Bithynia in Asia Minor. Trajan was Roman emperor from 98 to 117.

—What was Pliny's attitude toward the Christians? Does his description of the Christians tally with what is known from other sources?
—Might Pliny have had any motive to distort information he furnished Trajan?
—What does Trajan's reply indicate about the Emperor? About Roman justice? About the official policy toward Christianity?

1. PLINY TO TRAJAN (7)

It is with me, sir, an established custom to refer to you all matters on which I am in doubt. Who, indeed, is better able, either to direct my scruples or to instruct my ignorance?

I have never been present at trials of Christians, and consequently do not know for what reasons, or how far, punishment is usually inflicted or inquiry made in their case. Nor have my hesitations been slight: as to whether any distinction of age should be made, or persons however tender in years should be viewed as differing in no respect from the full-grown: whether pardon should be accorded to repentance, or he who has once been Christian should gain nothing by having ceased to be one: whether the very profession itself if unattended by

crime, or else the crimes necessarily attaching to the profession, should be made the subject of punishment.

Meanwhile, in the case of those who have been brought before me in the character of Christians, my course has been as follows: —I put it to themselves whether they were or were not Christians. To such as professed that they were, I put the inquiry a second and a third time, threatening them with the supreme penalty. Those who persisted, I ordered to execution. For, indeed, I could not doubt, whatever might be the nature of that which they professed, that their pertinacity, at any rate, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to be punished. There were others afflicted with like madness, with regard to whom, as they were Roman citizens, I made a memorandum that they were to be sent for judgment to Rome. Soon, the very handling of this matter causing, as often happens, the area of the charge to spread, many fresh examples occurred. An anonymous paper was put forth containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they either were or had been Christians, upon their calling on the gods after me, and upon their offering wine and incense before your statue, which for this purpose I had ordered to be introduced in company with the images of the gods, moreover upon their reviling Christ – none of which things it is said can such as are really and truly Christians be compelled to do —these I deemed it proper to dismiss. Others named by the informer admitted that they were Christians, and then shortly afterwards denied it, adding that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many years, more than one of them as much as twenty years, before. All these, too, not only honoured your image and the effigies of the gods, but also reviled Christ. They affirmed, however, that this had been the sum, whether of their crime or their delusion; they had been in the habit of meeting together on a stated day, before sunrise, and of offering in turns a form of invocation to Christ, as to a god; also of binding themselves by an oath, not for any guilty purpose, but not to commit thefts, or robberies, or adulteries, not to break their word, not to repudiate deposits when called upon; these ceremonies having been gone through, they had been in the habit of separating, and again meeting together for the purpose of taking food – food that is, of an ordinary and innocent kind. They had, however, ceased from doing even this, after my edict, in which, following your orders, I had forbidden the existence of Fraternities. This made me think it all the more necessary to inquire, even by torture, of two maid-servants, who were styled deaconesses, what the truth was. I could discover nothing else than a vicious and extravagant superstition: consequently, having adjourned the inquiry, I have had recourse to your counsels. Indeed, the matter seemed to me a proper one for consultation, chiefly on account of the number of persons imperilled. For many of all ages and all ranks, ay, and of both sexes, are being called, and will be called, into danger. Nor are cities only permeated by the contagion of this superstition, but villages and country parts as well; yet it seems possible to stop it and cure it. It is in truth sufficiently evident that the temples, which were almost entirely deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the customary religious rites which had long been interrupted are being resumed, and that there is a sale for the food of sacrificial beasts, for

which hitherto very few buyers indeed could be found. From all this it is easy to form an opinion as to the great number of persons who may be reclaimed, if only room be granted for penitence.

2. TRAJAN'S REPLY (7)

You have followed the right mode of procedure, my dear Secundus, in investigating the cases of those who had been brought before you as Christians. For, indeed, it is not possible to establish any universal rule, possessing as it were a fixed form. These people should not be searched for; if they are informed against and convicted, they should be punished; yet, so that he who shall deny being a Christian, and shall make this plain in action, that is by worshipping our gods, even though suspected on account of his past conduct, shall obtain pardon by his penitence. Anonymous informations, however, ought not to be allowed a standing in any kind of charge; a course which would not only form the worst of precedents, but which is not in accordance with the spirit of our time.

D. An Outsider Views the Christians

Lucian was a Greek satirist and essayist from Asia Minor who flourished in the second half of the second century. The following passage is from his work On the Death of Peregrinus Proteus. *Proteus was a Cynic philosopher who seems to have been somewhat of a charlatan and who ended his own life by ascending a burning pyre sometime around the year 165 A.D.*

—What is Lucian's opinion of Proteus? Of the Christians? With whom do you sympathize in his account? Why?
—Is Lucian's description of Christian behavior to be trusted?
—What does the article reveal about the reaction of intellectuals to the Christian movement?

1. LUCIAN ON PEREGRINUS PROTEUS (8)

. . . It was now that he came across the priests and scribes of the Christians, in Palestine, and picked up their queer creed. I can tell you, he pretty soon convinced them of his superiority; prophet, elder, ruler of the Synagogue—he was everything at once; expounded their books, commented on them, wrote books himself. They took him for a God, accepted his laws, and declared him their president. The Christians, you know, worship a *man* to this day,—the distinguished personage who introduced their novel rites, and was crucified on that account. Well, the end of it was that Proteus was arrested and thrown into prison. This was the very thing to lend an air to his favourite arts of clap-trap and wonder-working; he was now a made man. The Christians took it all very seriously: he was no sooner in prison, than they began trying every means to get

him out again,—but without success. Everything else that could be done for him they most devoutly did. They thought of nothing else. Orphans and ancient widows might be seen hanging about the prison from break of day. Their officials bribed the gaolers to let them sleep inside with him. Elegant dinners were conveyed in; their sacred writings were read; and our old friend Peregrine (as he was still called in those days) became for them "the modern Socrates." In some of the Asiatic cities, too, the Christian communities put themselves to the expense of sending deputations, with offers of sympathy, assistance, and legal advice. The activity of these people, in dealing with any matter that affects their community, is something extraordinary; they spare no trouble, no expense. Peregrine, all this time, was making quite an income on the strength of his bondage; money came pouring in. You see, these misguided creatures start with the general conviction that they are immortal for all time, which explains the contempt of death and voluntary self-devotion which are so common among them; and then it was impressed on them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers, from the moment that they are converted, and deny the gods of Greece, and worship the crucified sage, and live after his laws. All this they take quite on trust, with the result that they despise all worldly goods alike, regarding them merely as common property. Now an adroit, unscrupulous fellow, who has seen the world, has only to get among these simple souls, and his fortune is pretty soon made; he plays with them. . . .

E. Roman Justice and Christian Martyrs

The following account of the trial of certain Christians at Carthage in the year 180 A.D. is the earliest document of the Church in Africa. It is generally accepted as an authentic verbatim report of the trial taken from the court records. The last paragraph, clearly not the words of the court, is probably the pious addition of the Christian scribe who copied it. "Scillitan" refers to the city of Scillium in North Africa, the home of the defendants.

—What power did the court really have over the defendants? What was the attitude of the defendants toward the court and the Roman state of which it was the agent? Was a reconciliation possible between Roman justice and the Christian attitude?

—What seems to have been the attitude of the judge toward the prisoners? What light does the document throw on the treatment given to Christians by the Roman courts?

1. THE TRIAL OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS (9)

In the consulship of Præsens, then consul for the second time, and Claudian, on the 17th of July, Speratus, Nartzalus and Cittinus, Donata, Secunda, Vestia were brought to trial at Carthage in the council-chamber. The proconsul

Saturninus said to them: "You may merit the indulgence of our Lord the Emperor, if you return to a right mind."

Speratus said: "We have never done harm to any, we have never lent ourselves to wickedness; we have never spoken ill of any, but have given thanks when ill-treated, because we hold our own Emperor in honour."

The proconsul Saturninus said: "We also are religious people, and our religion is simple, and we swear by the genius of our Lord the Emperor, and pray for his safety, as you also ought to do."

Speratus said: "If you will give me a quiet hearing, I will tell you the mystery of simplicity."

Saturninus said: "If you begin to speak evil of our sacred rites, I will give you no hearing; but swear rather by the genius of our Lord the Emperor."

Speratus said: "I do not recognize the empire of this world, but rather I serve that God, whom no man has seen nor can see. I have not stolen, but if I buy anything, I pay the tax, because I recognize my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all peoples."

The proconsul said to the rest: "Cease to be of this persuasion."

Speratus said: "The persuasion that we should do murder, or bear false witness, that is evil."

The proconsul Saturninus said: "Have no part in this madness."

Cittinus said: "We have none other to fear save the Lord our God who is in heaven."

Donata said: "Give honour to Caesar as unto Caesar, but fear to God."

Vestia said: "I am a Christian."

Secunda said: "I wish to be none other than what I am."

The proconsul Saturninus said to Speratus: "Do you persist in remaining a Christian?"

Speratus said: "I am a Christian." And all consented thereto.

The proconsul Saturninus said: "Do you desire any space for consideration?"

Speratus said: "When the right is so clear, there is nothing to consider."

The proconsul Saturninus said: "What have you in your case?"

Speratus said: "The Books, and the letters of a just man, one Paul."

The proconsul Saturninus said: "Take a reprieve of thirty days and think it over."

Speratus again said: "I am a Christian." And all were of one mind with him.

The proconsul Saturninus read out the sentence from his notebook: "Whereas Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda, and the rest have confessed that they live in accordance with the religious rites of the Christians, and, when an opportunity was given them of returning to the usage of the Romans, persevered in their obstinacy, it is our pleasure that they should suffer by the sword."

Speratus said: "Thanks be to God!"

Nartzalus said: "To-day we are martyrs in heaven: thanks be to God!"

The proconsul Saturninus commanded that proclamation be made by the

herald: "I have commanded that Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Felix, Aquilinus, Lætantius, Januaria, Generosa, Vestia, Donata, Secunda be led forth to execution."

They all said: "Thanks be to God."

And so all were crowned with martyrdom together, and reign with the Father and Son and Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

F. The Pagans and the Christians

The Emperor Julian (361-363) attempted during his reign to restore Paganism, for which he has been anathematized by succeeding generations of Christian authors and called "The Apostate." Although many Christians were removed from positions in the state and the Church ceased for a while to occupy the favored position which it had held since the time of Constantine (306-337), Julian instituted no systematic persecution and in fact maintained a comparatively tolerant attitude toward the practice of the religion. The Emperor had been a pupil of the Greek author Libanius and the latter's letters to him are a valuable source of information about the fourth century. Libanius, though a Sophist and a Pagan, numbered among his pupils St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.

—What is the "black-robed throng" referred to in the letter?
—From the tone of the letter and the information given above, is Libanius' account to the Emperor a piece of objective reporting or an attempt to smear his enemies?
—With whom do you sympathize in this account, Christian or Pagan? Why?

1. LIBANIUS TO THE EMPEROR JULIAN (10)

. . . But now this black-robed throng, who, though they try to conceal the fact by an artificial pallor, eat more gluttonously than elephants and by their frequent draughts tire out the patience of the congregation, which accompanies each potation with a chant—these black-robed votaries, Emperor, though the law forbids such practices, hurry to the temples, carrying beams and stones and iron bars; while some, not having these, are ready even with their hands and feet. Then, without the slightest compunction or restraint, they rip off roofs, tear down walls, drag down images, and overthrow altars; and the priests must either say nothing or lose their lives. . . . So they go through the land like mountain torrents, laying waste the country under pretext of attacking the temples. . . . They say that they are warring against the temples, but their warfare is really a means of private gain, both for those who attack the temples and for those who plunder the possessions of the poor inhabitants, carrying off their beasts and the contents of their storehouses. . . . Some even go farther than this, and appropriate the land, saying that So-and-So's land is consecrated ground; and many a landholder has been deprived of his estate under a false charge.

Those who do these acts live in luxury and grow fat on the profit of other men's misfortunes—they who reverence their god, as they say, by starving their

bodies! If those who have been robbed of their goods go to the city "pastor"—for so they call some worthless fellow—and complain, telling him of the injustice they have suffered, the "pastor" praises the wrongdoers, and drives the suppliants from his presence, giving them to understand that they are fortunate not to have suffered even worse. And yet, Emperor, these are of your Empire no less than the others, and are as much more valuable than the others as those who work are more valuable than those who do not; for these are the workers and the others are the drones. If these drones hear of an estate that contains anything that can be plundered, straightway that estate is engaged in unholy practices, and is committing an unpardonable sin; a campaign must be instituted against it, and the inspectors immediately appear. "Campaign" is the name they give to this robbery, if robbery be not too weak a word to use—for robbers try to escape observation and deny their deeds; and, if you call them robbers, you insult them; but these men are proud of their actions and strive to outdo one another, giving instruction in the art to those who are unacquainted with it and proclaiming themselves deserving of honor. . . .

Questions for Thought

Was the struggle between Christianity and the Roman state an ideological battle? Was Christianity subversive of Roman institutions? What evidence might be submitted in support of a claim that it was? What would seem to be the wisdom of repressive action taken by government against a militant minority, tightly organized and united by a strong and persuasive ideology? How do you account for the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) *The Bible, designed to be read as living literature; the Old and New Testaments in the King James Version*, ed. by Ernest Sutherland Bates (New York, 1943), pp. 1056-57, 1959-61 [The Acts of the Apostles, ch. VIII, 1-4, ch. IX, 1-31]. Omissions made in the King James Version by Bates are indicated and Bates' subtitles are omitted. Reprinted by permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 1062-65 [Acts, ch. X, 1-18, 23-48, ch. XI, 1-4, 12, 15-26].
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 1068-70 [Acts, ch. XIII, 13-16, 23, 26-33, 42-50].
(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 1071-73 [Acts, ch. XV, 1-15, 19-20, 22-35].
(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 1086-88, 1094-95 [Acts, ch. XXI, 15-36, ch. XXV, 1-12].
(6) *Annals of Tacitus*, trans. by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (London, 1869), pp. 304-05.
(7) Pliny the Younger, "Epistulae," X, 96-97, in *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, ed. by J. D. Lewis (London, 1879), pp. 377-80.
(8) Lucian, "De Morte Peregrini Protei," in *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, ed. by H. W. Fowler (Oxford, 1905), IV, 82-83. Reprinted by permission of The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
(9) E. C. E. Owen, *Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 71-73. Reprinted by permission of the Clarendon Press.
(10) Libanius, "Epistulae," II, 164, in *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, ed. by J. W. H. Walden (New York, 1909), pp. 117-18. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

PART V

The Decline of Rome

One of the most perplexing problems facing historians is why the Roman Empire disintegrated some fifteen centuries ago. Here was a mighty political system which grew, matured and flourished over a period of more than a thousand years and then apparently lost its vigor. The Roman Republic gave way to the Empire, and early in the second century A.D. the political domain of Rome was at its greatest extent. Roman government, law, and culture dominated the whole Mediterranean basin as had those of no previous civilization. Pessimists like Seneca shook their heads and warned of impending doom; yet Seneca and others may have based their predictions on a cyclical theory of history rather than on observation of the world in which they lived. Not until the late fourth century were many Romans aware that their civilization was in decline. Even then optimists like Rutilius predicted a future for Rome as glorious and as lengthy as its past.

From the fifth century to the present time, historians, impressed with the might and majesty of ancient Rome or with the continuing influence of Rome on the medieval and modern world, have sought explanations of the disintegration of Roman power. We are indebted to the famed eighteenth-century historian Edward Gibbon for defining the problem with the classic phrase, "the decline and fall of the Roman Empire." In the belief that such an epochal change must have been caused by a powerful force of some kind, historians have described the political, religious, economic, social, ideological, even technological and climatic influences they considered primary—and have fallen into continual argument as a result. The problem of Rome's decline thus becomes of great historiographic as well as historical interest.

How then can we begin to understand the underlying causes of the failure of that great Mediterranean empire, as well as the controversies in explaining the failure? One fruitful method lies in studying the techniques of historical reinterpretation, demonstrated in the first reading below. The remaining readings are selections from the writings of contemporary witnesses. Examine each to see how it may fit a causal analysis, old or new, of Rome's decline.

A. A Modern Historian's Treatment of the Problem

Why does each generation "write its own history," substituting new interpretations of the past for old ones? They do so partly because each generation has new interests and so asks new questions about the past and partly because new

evidence turns up to challenge the validity of old evidence. What then is the function of the historian? It is to test old theories with new evidence and, where old theories prove unsatisfactory, to propose new interpretations of related groups of events in the past. A striking example of this process, as applied to the question of the decline of Rome, is the article written by Norman H. Baynes, eminent historian of the Eastern Roman Empire.

—What are the various theories of Seeck, Simkhovitch, Huntington, Frank, Nilsson, and Rostovtzeff discussed by Baynes?
—What are the major pieces of evidence advanced by the supporters of each interpretation? Does Baynes refute them successfully?
—How valid is Baynes' own explanation?
—What conclusions can one draw about the definitiveness of historical explanations?

1. THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN POWER IN THE WEST (1)

It is the purpose of this paper to consider a few of the more outstanding contributions towards the solution of this familiar problem propounded since the publication in 1898 of Sir Samuel Dill's book on *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2nd edn., 1899). It may well appear somewhat surprising that I should venture to speak on such a topic, since my own work, such as it is, has been concerned rather with the history of the Byzantine Empire. And yet for a student of Byzantine history the problem has a special interest: he is forced to consider that problem not merely as a West European issue, but rather to compare and contrast the historical development in the western and eastern provinces of the Empire. He is compelled to raise the question: why was it that the Roman Empire failed to survive in Western Europe while it endured for a further millennium in the East? The very fact that he is primarily interested in the history of the Byzantine Empire enables him to approach the Western problem from a different angle and to treat that problem in a wider setting and not in isolation. This is my apologia for what might otherwise appear to be an inexcusable impertinence. In a word I desire to ask what general considerations can be adduced to explain the fact that in Western Europe there is a cultural break—a caesura—while in the East Roman world the cultural development is continuous, the Hellenistic and Roman traditions being gradually fused to form the civilization of the Byzantine Empire.

Of the recent explanations of the decline of the Roman power in Western Europe we may first take that of Vladimir G. Simkhovitch who in the *Political Science Quarterly* for 1916 published an article under the title 'Rome's Fall Reconsidered' in which he attributed the collapse of the Roman power to the exhaustion of the soil of Italy and of the provinces. That article has been reprinted—somewhat incongruously—in the author's book *Towards the Understanding of Jesus*. The evil began under the Republic: in Cato's time [c. 180

B.C.] agriculture had already declined in the greater part of Italy. When asked what is the most profitable thing in the management of one's estate he replied 'Good pasturage.' What is the next best? 'Fairly good pasturage.' What is the third best? 'Bad pasturage.' And the fourth best? 'Arare'—agriculture. Simkhovitch admits that the Romans possessed great agricultural knowledge. 'All that is implied by the agricultural revolution,' he writes, 'the seeding of grasses and legumes, the rotation of crops, yes even green manuring, all that was perfectly known to the Romans. Why was it not practised for two thousand years or more? I do not know.' Columella [c. 50 A.D.] was already drawing upon a literary tradition in his counsel to farmers: his mistakes prove that he had never witnessed the operations which he describes. To seed alfalfa one cyathus for 50 square feet, which amounts to several bushels per acre, is an impossible proposition. Province after province was turned by Rome into a desert: draining was neglected, and deserted fields became mosquito- and malaria-infested swamps. The 'inner decay' of the Roman Empire in all its manifold manifestations was in the last analysis entirely based upon the endless stretches of barren, sterile, and abandoned fields in Italy and the provinces. The evidence adduced by Simkhovitch is drawn for the most part from writers of the Republic or of the period of the early Principate, but from the Christian Empire he quotes Constantine's legislation in favour of the children of the poor who have not the means to provide for their offspring, and also the constitution of Valentinian, Arcadius and Theodosius giving permission to the squatter to cultivate deserted fields. Against those who would maintain that the flight from the land was caused by the oppressive taxation he contends that it was precisely the exhaustion of the soil which rendered the burden of taxation oppressive: it was because so much land was uncultivated that taxation pressed so heavily upon those who still continued the farming of their fields. The limits which confine the productivity of man's labour become for society physical conditions of existence from which it cannot escape. It was these limits set by the exhaustion of the soil which rendered the doom of Rome inevitable.

There is no doubt truth in this picture of the decline of agriculture: for the later Empire it may well be an accurate description of some parts of Italy: in A.D. 395 the abandoned fields of Campania alone amounted to something over 528,000 *jugera;* but in itself it is inadequate as an explanation of the fall of Rome. For in one country at least—Egypt—there can be no question of soil-exhaustion, and it is precisely from Egypt that we have our earliest reports of the flight from the land, of the disappearance of villages through depopulation. Modern studies of economic conditions in Egypt have demonstrated the fatal effects of the methods of administrative exploitation employed by the Roman government in that province. The burden of taxation here certainly came first, and the decay of agriculture was its result and not its cause. Further, the sweeping generalizations of Simkhovitch's paper cannot be sustained: even in the fifth century of our era where a resident proprietor supervised the cultivation of his own estate there can be no question of soil-exhaustion. Read again Ausonius' poem of his expedition in the valley of the Moselle, read the letters of Sidonius

Apollinaris: still in the Gaul of the fifth century it is clear that there were smiling fields and well-cultivated farms. The real danger of the *latifundia* lay, I am convinced, in the fact that they were for the most part managed by bailiffs for owners who were absentee landlords, men who drew money from their estates in order to spend it in Rome, Ravenna, or some provincial capital. The primary cause of the agricultural decline is to be found in the abuses of the fiscal system, in the scourge of corporate responsibility for the collection of the taxes which ruined the municipal aristocracy of the city *curiae*, and perhaps above all in the absence of the personal supervision of the proprietor and the unprincipled use of authority by irresponsible bailiffs, controlling the cultivation of the large estates which now absorbed so great a part of the land of the Empire. Soil-exhaustion is, in fact, an inadequate explanation of the collapse of the Roman power.

Another theory has been proposed by Professor Ellsworth Huntington—that of climatic change. The great sequoias of California—the big trees of a familiar advertisement—have been growing for some three or even four thousand years. Each year in the trunk of the tree there is clearly marked the circle of the year's growth: when the tree is felled these rings can be traced and according to their width a chronological chart of climatic variation can be established: the years of considerable width of ring recording the effect of favourable climatic conditions, the narrower rings marking the result of less favourable climate. In this way for the area of the sequoias the variations in climate can be traced for at least 3,000 years. On this basis Ellsworth Huntington constructed his theory. In an article published in 1917 in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* on 'Climatic Change and Agricultural Exhaustion as Elements in the Fall of Rome' he suggested that the climate of the Mediterranean world and that of California have always undergone similar modifications: that from the chronological chart of Californian climate one is accordingly entitled to reconstruct the changes in the climate of the Mediterranean area during the course of the history of Rome, and from the record of such changes we may conclude that the fall of Rome was due to a decline in the rainfall from which the Mediterranean world suffered during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of our era. It is easy to object that on Professor Huntington's own showing the latter part of the second century and the first half of the third century marked a climatic improvement: it might be hard to trace any corresponding increase in prosperity in the history of the Empire during this period. But a more serious objection would point to the hazardous character of the fundamental assumption. Records of rainfall in the neighbourhood of the great trees have only been kept for about half a century; Professor Huntington prints a table of four year-groups in order to establish the climatic parallelism between California and the Mediterranean area [*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxxi (1916-17), p. 193]:

I Seven years of heaviest rainfall in California.
II Eighteen years with heavy rainfall in California.
III Seventeen years with light rainfall in California.
IV Thirteen years with least rainfall in California.

The table presents the following figures:

	San Francisco	*Rome*	*Naples*
I	8.3 in.	10.7 in.	11.5 in.
II	4.5 in.	10.6 in.	11.0 in.
III	3.4 in.	9.8 in.	9.2 in.
IV	1.9 in.	9.6 in.	8.6 in.

'The columns vary,' writes Professor Huntington, 'in harmony with the California rainfall.' That is true, but the disparity in the amount of the decline in rainfall between California and Rome—in California a fall from 8.3 in. to 1.9 in., in Rome a fall only from 10.7 in. to 9.6 in.—is very striking, and it is not easy to see what conclusions can justifiably be drawn from such figures.

But that is not all: the matter does not remain as it stood in 1917. In 1925 the Carnegie Institution of Washington published further discussion of the Big Tree as a climatic measure, and it now appears uncertain what part is played respectively by temperature and what by rainfall in the yearly growth. Thus a further element of ambiguity is introduced into the problem. Before this Ossa of doubt piled upon a Pelion of uncertainty the confidence of a mere student of history may well quail, and for the present I should hesitate to call in aid Nature's yardstick as a solution of our historical perplexities. The great trees still keep their climatic secret.

From Nature we may turn to the human factor in our search for the causes of the collapse of the Roman power. Otto Seeck has, I think, found no followers in his attempt to charge the third-century Roman emperors with the responsibility for that collapse. Through their continued *Ausrottung der Besten*—the persistent extermination of capacity and individual merit—the Caesars bred a terror of distinction and encouraged the spread of that slave mentality which issued logically and naturally in the triumph of Christianity—the Beggars' Religion—*die Religion des Betteltums*. An inverted Darwinism stamped out originality from the Empire: no man remained with the courage to be the master of his fate—the captain of his own soul. The way was open for 'Byzantinismus,' for crawling servility and fawning adulation of authority. Here the prejudice of one who was inspired by a passionate and life-long hatred of the Christian faith has, I cannot but feel, attempted to wrest history to its own purpose. Is there indeed any single century in the annals of the Empire which can show so many men of outstanding personality as can the fourth century of our era? Surely Professor Lot is not far from the truth when he exclaims: 'If ever there were supermen in human history they are to be found in the Roman emperors of the third and fourth centuries'—men who shouldered the burden of a tottering world and resolutely refused to despair of the Republic. And beside the Roman emperors stand in the Christian camp such figures as Athanasius and St Basil in the East, as Ambrose and Augustine in the West. There is little of crawling servility in such men as these. The wonder of the fourth century to my mind is rather the heroic courage and the desperate resolution with which men strove to preserve

that imperial organization which alone safeguarded the legacy of the ancient world. Further, you will not have failed to notice with what rigour Seeck presses the theory of the hereditary transmissibility of excellence. So thorough-going a conviction might well rejoice the heart of a champion of an unreformed House of Lords. No, *Die Ausrottung der Besten* will not suffice to explain the decline of the Roman power.

Professor Tenney Frank, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has approached the problem from another angle. From an elaborate statistical study of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions he concludes that Rome and the Latin West were flooded by an invasion of Greek and Oriental slaves: as these were emancipated and thus secured Roman citizenship the whole character of the citizen body was changed: on the basis of a consideration of some 13,900 sepulchral inscriptions he argues that nearly 90 per cent of the Roman-born inhabitants of the Western capital were of foreign extraction. What lay behind and constantly reacted on those economic factors which have generally been adduced to explain the decline of the Roman power was the fact that those who had built Rome had given way to a different race. 'The whole of Italy as well as the Romanized portions of Gaul and Spain were during the Empire dominated in blood by the East.' In this fact Tenney Frank would find an explanation of the development from the Principate to the Dominate—the triumph of absolutism, of the spread of Oriental religions, the decline in Latin literature and the growing failure in that gift for the government of men which had built up the Empire.

But the foundations on which this far-reaching theory rests are not above suspicion. The nationality of Roman slaves is but rarely expressly stated in the sepulchral inscriptions, and thus it is upon the appearance of a Greek name for slave or freedman that Tenney Frank has inferred an Oriental origin. The legitimacy of this inference has been questioned by Miss Mary Gordon in her able study of the 'Nationality of Slaves under the early Roman Empire,' *Journal of Roman Studies,* xiv, 1924. A slave was a personal chattel, and slave-dealer or slave-owner could give to the slave any name which in his unfettered choice he might select: the slave-dealers with whom Romans first came in contact were Greeks and thus, as Miss Gordon says, 'Greek was the original language of the slave trade and this is reflected in servile nomenclature much as the use of French on modern menus and in the names affected by dressmakers suggests the history and associations of particular trades.' In fact the nomenclature of the slave in the ancient world was scarcely less arbitrary than are the modern names given to our houses, our puddings, our horses or our dogs. An attempt to determine the domicile of origin of our cats or dogs solely by the names which their owners have given them would hardly be likely to produce results of high scientific value. The outlandish names of barbarian captives reduced to slavery would naturally be changed to more familiar forms, and Latin nomenclature was singularly poor and unimaginative: the Greek names were well-known and resort to these was easy. It may be said that this reasoning is largely *a priori* and of little cogency. But Ettore Cicotti in a recent paper . . . has adduced an interesting historical parallel. L. Livi . . . in 1928 published documents which his father copied from the State Archives of Florence. These documents record 357 sales of slaves:

the transactions date from the years 1366 to 1390—for the most part from the years 1366 to 1370. The majority of the slaves were of Tartar origin, though some were Greeks, Roumanians, etc. In these records the slave's original name is generally given and then follows the Italian name by which the slave is known. Thus the name of Lucia occurs forty-two times and represents such original names as Marchecta, Gingona, Erina, Minglacha, Saragosa, Casabai, Alterona and many others. Similarly the name of Caterina is given to slaves of Greek, Tartar, Turkish, Circassian, and Russian origin, and has taken the place of such barbarous names as Coraghessan, Chrittias, Colcatalo, Tagaton, and Melich. The parallel is very instructive.

But this is not all: the sepulchral inscriptions studied by Tenney Frank extend over a period of three centuries: suppose that Rome had during the early Empire a population of some 800,000 with an annual mortality of 2 per cent: in those three centuries the deaths would number 4,800,000. Tenney Frank has examined 13,900 inscriptions and those are derived from imperial and aristocratic *columbaria:* here the slaves would be better off and the percentage of accomplished foreign slaves would be higher: what of the nameless dead whom no record preserved, whose bodies lay in the vast common burial pits of the slave proletariat? These 13,900 dead who left permanent memorials behind them cannot be regarded as really representative of the general servile population of the city: we are not justified in using the percentage obtained from these records and applying it as though it were applicable to the whole class of slaves and of freedmen.

In the light of this criticism Tenney Frank's statistics are vitiated, and it must be admitted that the nationality of the slaves of Rome under the early Empire remains a matter of conjecture. There must have been a far greater number derived from Western Europe than are allowed for on Tenney Frank's calculations.

A somewhat different form of biological explanation is given by Professor Nilsson in his well-known book *Imperial Rome*. The most important problem for the Empire was that of race: that was decisive, for upon it depended the quality of Roman civilization. Culture rests on racial character. If the alien races and barbarian peoples were to be assimilated, they must be interpenetrated by their conquerors. Since the Roman world was of vast extent and those of alien race were very numerous, an increase in the birth-rate of the Romans was required: instead of this the Roman birth-rate declined: the blood of the Romans became more and more diluted, and in place of the Romanization of the Empire a civilization of intercommunication and intercourse resulted in a mingling of races—an unchecked 'mongrelization.' Under the Empire cross-breeding, hybridization, spread throughout the provinces, and in this widespread realm of mongrels all stable spiritual and moral standards were lost.

I confess that as soon as the word 'race' is introduced into any discussion I realize that my only safe course lies in a resolute silence, for I have never been able to understand the precise significance of that ambiguous term. But when folk begin to ascribe all kinds of moral and spiritual failings to race-mixture it will hardly be expected that an Englishman will accept the insinuation

without a protest. It is beyond calculation to estimate how many races and peoples have gone to his ethnological make-up, and he will not readily admit that the results of 'mongrelization' have in his case been wholly deplorable. As an Englishman I am unlikely to discuss dispassionately the theory of Professor Nilsson. And unfortunately I am also a student of Byzantine history, and as such I am convinced that the essential condition of the prosperity of the later Roman Empire was its possession of Asia Minor—that reservoir alike of money and of men. And Asia Minor of the Byzantines was surely man's most stupendous effort in race-mixture to which history can point: it was an ethnological museum. Professor Nilsson, to be quite frank, will have his work cut out to persuade an English Byzantinist that race-mixture is of necessity so poisonous and deadly a process. I had better leave it at that: you had best form your own judgement on the theory without further comment from me.

There still remains, however, the explanation of Professor Rostovtzeff as set forth in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* a masterpiece for which any student of imperial Rome must have a sincere admiration. Professor Rostovtzeff's explanation of the collapse of the Roman power can be briefly summarized. It was through the medium of the *municipia*—of the towns—that Rome had unified Italy, and when she extended her conquests into the West of Europe she naturally favoured the growth of towns as centres of Romanization. But the towns drew their wealth from the countryside, and the peasants bitterly resented this exploitation of their own class by the *bourgeoisie*. Under the peace of the Empire the civilian population became unfitted for the life of the military camps, and it was from the rude vigour of the peasantry that in the crisis of the third century the Roman armies were recruited. The peasant of the army made common cause with the peasant of the countryside and both waged a war of extermination against their oppressors of the city. The explanation of the downfall of aristocracy and with them of the ancient civilization is thus to be found in a class-conscious alliance between the soldier and the worker on the land. Professor Rostovtzeff, it must be remembered, has seen in his native country [Russia] an aristocratic régime overthrown by a similar alliance. And the only answer to this theory that I can give is quite simply that I can find no support for it in our extant sources. I have consulted every reference to the authorities cited by Professor Rostovtzeff, and in my judgement none of them supports his reading of the facts. So far as I can see the constant terror of the peasants is the soldier: the last menace to a defaulting debtor is (according to the papyri) the creditor's threat: 'I will send a soldier after you.' The soldier is to the peasant what Napoleon or the policeman has been to successive generations of children in English nurseries. To the Roman peasant and soldier of the third century of our era there had not been granted a revelation of the gospel according to Karl Marx.

And thus I come back as a student of Byzantine history to the difficulty to which I referred at the beginning of this lecture. I believe that there was in Western Europe a break in the cultural development, and that there was no corresponding break in the development of civilization in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. To a Byzantinist, therefore, the problem which we are

considering necessarily assumes a dual aspect: what he must discover, if he is to gain any intellectual satisfaction from the inquiry, is precisely the *differentia* which distinguishes the history of the Western provinces from that of the *partes orientales*. And so many of the modern explanations do not provide him with any such *differentia*. 'Die Ausrottung der Besten,' civil wars, and imperial jealousy of outstanding merit did not affect the West alone: the whole Roman world suffered from these scourges: the brutality of an undisciplined soldiery was likewise an evil common to both halves of the Empire. Soil-exhaustion, climatic change, these must have affected the entire Mediterranean area. The oppression of civil servants, the decay of the municipal senates, the flight from the land—all these ills the Eastern provinces were not spared. Greeks and Orientals invaded the West and we are told caused the collapse of the Roman power there; but in the East these same Greeks and Orientals sustained the Empire against unceasing assaults for another millennium: it seems mysterious. And therefore in closing it only remains for me to state the *differentia* as I see it and to suggest an explanation of this diversity in the history of East and West—an explanation which is so humiliatingly simple that I am constrained to believe that it must be right.

You realize then that I speak as a student of Byzantine history: a Byzantinist looks at the world of Western Europe. As I conceive of it, culture is essentially a social thing: it is born of intercourse and it needs a conscious solidarity of interest in order to sustain it. Roman civilization depended upon intercommunication, upon the influences radiating from the capital and returning to the capital for reinforcement. Such free communication, however, can be preserved only within an area which is safeguarded from violence: the Roman Empire was such an area safeguarded by the civil administration and by the frontier screen of the military forces. The civil service and the army together formed the steel framework which maintained the entire structure of civilization. It is perhaps with the Emperor Hadrian that one first observes a conscious realization of this function of the Roman power. The area of civilization is delimited on permanent lines: not expansion of territory, but concentration of resources in order to protect the solidarity of culture—that is the emperor's task. The barbarian invasions broke into this area of intercourse, and the establishment of barbarian kingdoms on Roman soil destroyed the single administration which was its counterpart. And the fatal significance of the establishment of these barbarian kingdoms lay in the fact that they withdrew from the Empire not only Roman soil, but also the revenues derived therefrom. Africa lost to the Vandals, Spain occupied by Sueve and Alan and Visigoth: Southern France a Visigothic kingdom and the rest of Gaul a battleground on which Aëtius fought and fought again: Italy alone remained as a source of revenue, and Italy was an impoverished land. The Western State was bankrupt. And the defence of the Empire demanded money, for Rome had so effectually provided the area of peaceful intercourse in Western Europe that her subjects were no longer soldiers: if battles were to be won they must be fought by barbarian mercenaries, and for mercenaries to fight they must be paid. Further, Rome's effort in the West was a struggle with a double front: against the barbarian on land and against the Vandal fleet upon the sea. Rome possessed no technical superiority such as the invention of gunpowder might

have given her, such as later the secret for the composition of the 'Greek fire' gave to the Byzantine navy. Thus the tragedy of the Empire in the West lay precisely in the fact that she had not the wherewithal to keep at one and the same time a mercenary army in the field and a fleet in commission. And the *differentia* which distinguishes the situation in the East of the Empire is, in my judgement, that, while the Danubian provinces were continuously ravaged, Asia Minor was for the most part untroubled by invasions: Asia Minor remained as I have said a reservoir alike of men and money. It was this reservoir which the West lacked. The West could throw no counterpoise into the scale against the supremacy of the barbarian; but the East amongst its own subjects numbered the hardy mountaineers—the Isaurians [Isauria being the mountain ramparts between central Asia Minor and Cilicia, in Asia Minor's southeast corner]—and the fellow-countrymen of the Isaurian Tarasicodissa, whom history knows as the Emperor Zeno, could meet the menace of the barbarian mercenary and when the supremacy of the Alan Aspar had been broken, the Empire could send the Isaurian back to his mountains and Anastasius, an aged civilian who had only just escaped consecration as a bishop, could rule unchallenged. And as a consequence of the triumph of the civil power, the civil administration—the steel framework which maintained Byzantine civilization—was likewise preserved, and from the city of Constantine culture radiated and through intercourse with the capital was again reinforced. Here is preserved that conscious solidarity in the maintenance of civilization which guaranteed a real continuity. In the West there are survivals from the ancient world—true—a branch lopped from a tree may still produce shoots; but for all that the continuity of life is broken: the doom of decay is sure. Gregory of Tours is a remarkable man, but he is a lonely figure and he feels himself isolated. And against that figure I would set a scene at a Byzantine court—when the Emperor's barbarian mistress appeared in her radiant beauty at a reception, one courtier uttered the words 'No! A Nemesis!': the barbarian queen did not understand the allusion, but for Byzantines the two words were enough to summon up the picture of Helen as she stood before the greybeards on the walls of Troy. So well did the aristocracy of East Rome know their Homer: such is the solidarity of Byzantine culture. In a word it was the pitiful poverty of Western Rome which crippled her in her effort to maintain that civil and military system which was the presupposition for the continued life of the ancient civilization.

B. Roman Comments on Conditions in the Late Empire

Clearly, many Romans of the fourth and fifth centuries were aware of the glory that had been Rome and of the predicament of the Western Roman Empire. They too sought suitable explanations of the change in Rome's fortunes. Yet eyewitness reports of historical events often contain as many conflicting interpretations as there are eyewitnesses. The historian, like the lawyer, must sift the evidence in order to arrive at a reasonable understanding of events as they might have occurred.

The following documents may help to fill out the reader's own explanation of the decline of Rome. Each of the writers participated in public life in the late Empire. Symmachus was a celebrated orator who led a group of pagan senators in an attempt to restore the altar of Victory, which had stood in the Senate chamber since the time of Augustus but had been removed by Emperor Gratian in 382 A.D. Orosius, a native of Spain, was commissioned by St. Augustine to write his famous defense of Christianity, which he completed in 418. Little is known of the life of Salvian, who held the office of presbyter of Marseilles, one of the chief centers of the church in Gaul, in the first half of the fifth century. Sidonius, also a native of Gaul, met or corresponded with everyone of importance in his own country; he is one of the principal authorities for certain of the events of the last days of the Roman Empire in the West. In contrast to the explanations and attitudes of these four is the Gallo-Roman poet Rutilius, who wrote his optimistic lines in 416, only six years after the sack of Rome by Alaric's Goths.

—What did Sidonius, Salvian, and Orosius have in common? Why was Sidonius so enamored of the Goths? Why was Rutilius so optimistic? What are the arguments for or against the reliability of each as a witness of his times?
—What evidence do you find in each reading to support or refute any of the theories proposed in the Baynes article?
—What role did Christianity play in the decline of Rome?
—Note down the principal evidence in these readings that supports one or another cause of Rome's decline. Does any specific cause seem primary in importance?

1. SYMMACHUS' PAGAN POINT OF VIEW, 384 A. D. (2)

Let no one imagine that I am defending only the cause of religion; from such deeds [as the removal of the altar of Victory] stem all the woes of the Roman people. The law of the fathers honored the Vestals and the Ministers of the gods with magnificent emoluments and lawful privileges. These provisions remained inviolate until [the time of] those degenerate thieves who seized the sacred sustenance of chastity in order to hand it out as pay to porters and postmen. Upon this act of violence followed a general famine, while bad harvests dashed the hopes of every province. This was no failure of the soil; we cannot blame the winds; no rust infected the seed; no weeds choked the growing grain; it was the plundering of holy things that destroyed that year. Anything that is refused for the service of the gods is certain to be destroyed. If such a misfortune had happened only once, one might say it was only the difference between one year and another; but some greater cause must be found to account for this [vast] unfruitfulness. People kept alive a little longer only by eating what they could pick up in the woods, famine drove people living in the country to turn once more to the Dodonaean oaks. Did the land ever suffer such misfortunes as long as the ministers of the public cult were honored by provisions for their necessities? When did anyone ever shake down acorns in order to feed men, or pull up the roots of weeds? When did the land ever lose its fruitfulness altogether, and not merely here and there, as long as the people and the sacred virgins shared alike in what it produced? The support of their servants recom-

mended to the gods their care and supervision over the produce of the soil; it was a help to us rather than a gift to them! Can anyone doubt that something ought continually to be given for the welfare of all, when now the poverty of all demands it?

2. OROSIUS AND THE FALL OF ROME TO THE GOTHS, 418 A.D. (3)

It was in the one thousand one hundred and sixty-fourth year of the City that Alaric stormed Rome [410]. Although the memory of the events is still fresh, anyone who saw the numbers of the Romans themselves and listened to their talk would think that "nothing had happened," as they themselves admit, unless perhaps he were to notice some charred ruins still remaining. When the City was stormed, Placidia, the daughter of the princely Theodosius and sister of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, was captured and taken to wife by Alaric's kinsman, as if she had been a hostage given by Rome as a special pledge, according to divine decree; thus, through her alliance with the powerful barbarian king, Placidia did much to benefit the state. . . .

There would be ample opportunity now for me to speak about these things if it were not that, according to all men, the secret voice of conscience speaks in the soul of each and every man. Spain has been invaded and has suffered slaughter and devastation, but this is nothing new. During the last two years, while the sword of the enemy raged, she endured no harsher treatment from the barbarians than that which she had formerly suffered under the Romans for two hundred years, or than that which she experienced when ravaged for almost twelve years by the Germans in the reign of the emperor Gallienus. . . . Nevertheless, soon afterward, the barbarians came to detest their swords, betook themselves to the plough, and are affectionately treating the rest of the Romans as comrades and friends, so that now among them there may be found some Romans who, living with the barbarians, prefer freedom from poverty to tribute-paying with anxiety among their own people.

Yet if the barbarians had been let loose upon the Roman lands simply because the churches of Christ throughout the East and the West were filled with Huns, Suebi, Vandals, and Burgundians, and with believers belonging to various and innumerable races, it would seem that the mercy of God ought to be praised and glorified, in that so many nations would be receiving, even at the cost of our own weakening, a knowledge of the truth which they could never have had but for this opportunity. For how does it harm a Christian who is longing for eternal life to be withdrawn from this world at any time or by any means? On the other hand, what gain is it to a pagan who, though living among Christians, is hardened against faith, if he drag out his days a little longer, since he whose conversion is hopeless is destined at last to die?

Because the judgments of God are inscrutable and we can neither know them all nor explain those we know, let me state briefly that the rebuke of our

Judge and God, in whatever form it may take, is justly undergone by those who know and likewise by those who know not. . . .

[Orosius concludes his work with a contemporary historical example.]

Thereupon Wallia [King of the Visigoths, 416-419] succeeded to the kingdom, having been chosen by the Goths to break the peace, but appointed by God to establish it. He was especially terrified by God's judgment, because a large band of Goths, provided with arms and ships had tried to cross into Africa a year before but had been caught in a storm within twelve miles of the Strait of Gades and had perished miserably. He also remembered that disaster suffered under Alaric when the Goths had attempted to cross into Sicily but were shipwrecked and drowned within sight of their comrades. These fears caused him to conclude a very favorable peace with the emperor Honorius giving hostages of the highest rank; he restored Placidia, whom he had treated with decency and respect, to her imperial brother. To insure the security of Rome he risked his own life by taking over the warfare against the other tribes that had settled in Spain and subduing them for the Romans. However, the other kings, those of the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suebi, had made a bargain with us on the same terms, sending this message to the emperor Honorius: "Do you be at peace with us all and receive hostages of all; we struggle with one another, we perish to our own loss, but we conquer for you, indeed with permanent gain to your state, if we should both perish." Who would believe these things if they were not proven by the facts? Thus it is that we are informed by frequent and trustworthy messages that warfare among the barbarian nations is now being carried on daily in Spain and that much blood is being shed on both sides; especially is it reported that Wallia, the king of the Goths, is intent upon bringing about peace. In view of these things I am ready to allow Christian times to be blamed as much as you please, if you can only point to any equally fortunate period from the foundation of the world to the present day. My description, I think, has shown not more by words than by my guiding finger, that countless wars have been stilled, many usurpers destroyed, and the most savage tribes checked, confined, incorporated, or annihilated with little bloodshed, no real struggle, and almost without loss. It remains for our detractors to repent of their endeavors, to blush on seeing the truth, and to believe, to fear, to love, and to follow the one true God, Who can do all things and all of Whose acts (even those that they have thought evil) they have found to be good. . . .

3. SALVIAN: THE WAYS OF GOD AS SEEN IN THE ABANDONED SOCIETY OF THE TIMES, [MID-FIFTH CENTURY] (4)

The question is raised why, if everything in this world is controlled by the care and governance and judgment of God, the condition of the barbarians is so much better than ours, why among us the fortune of good men is harder than

that of the wicked. Why should upright men fall ill and reprobates recover? Why does the whole world fall prey to powers for the most part unjust? Perhaps a rational and fairly consistent answer would be: "I do not know." For I do not know the secrets of God. The oracle of his heavenly word is sufficient proof for me in this case. God says, as I have already proved in my earlier books, that all things are subject to his oversight, his rule and his judgment. If you wish to know what doctrines you must accept, you have the sacred writings: the perfect course is to hold fast what you have read in them. . . .

So you keep airing the question why we Christians who believe in God are more wretched than all other men. . . .

In all the points of which we have spoken our Lord has ordered us to obey him, but where are those who obey all his ordinances or even a very few of them? Where are those who love their enemies or do good to those that persecute them, who yield their property without a lawsuit to those that rob them? Who is there that permits himself no slander whatever, that injures no man by evil speaking, that keeps his lips silent that they may not break out in bitter curses? Who is there that keeps these least commandments, not to speak of those greater ones which I mentioned a short time ago?

Since this is the case and since we keep none of the Lord's commands, why do we complain of God, who has far more right to complain of us? Why should we grieve that he does not hear us, when we ourselves do not hear him? What right have we to whisper that God does not look upon the earth, when we ourselves do not look up to the heavens? What reason have we to be vexed that our prayers are despised by the Lord, whose commands we despise? . . .

What more can I say? It is a heavy and sorrowful charge that I must bring: the church itself, which should strive to appease God in all things—what else does it do but arouse him to anger? Except a very few individuals who shun evil, what else is the whole congregation of Christians but the very dregs of vice? How often will you find a man in the church who is not a drunkard or glutton or adulterer or fornicator or robber or wastrel or brigand or homicide? And what is worst of all, they commit these crimes endlessly. I appeal to the conscience of all Christians; of these crimes and misdeeds that I have just named, who is not guilty of some part, who is not guilty of the whole? . . . For almost the whole body of the church has been reduced to such moral depravity that among all Christian people the standard of holiness is merely to be less sinful than others. . . .

Who can find words to describe the enormity of our present situation? Now when the Roman commonwealth, already extinct or at least drawing its last breath in that one corner where it still seems to retain some life, is dying, strangled by the cords of taxation as if by the hands of brigands, still a great number of wealthy men are found the burden of whose taxes are murdering the poor. Very many, I said: I am afraid I might more truly say all; for so few, if any, are free from this evil, that we may find practically all the rich in the category to which I have just assigned them. . . .

But, you object, the barbarians commit the same sins, and yet are not as

wretched as we. There is this difference between us, that even if the barbarians do the same things we do, our sins are still more grievous than theirs. For our vices and theirs can be equal without their guilt being as great as ours. All of them, as I said before, are either pagans or heretics. I shall discuss the pagans first, since theirs is the older delusion: among these, the nation of the Saxons is savage, the Franks treacherous, the Gepids ruthless, the Huns lewd—so we see that the life of all the barbarians is full of vice. Can you say that their vices imply the same guilt as ours, that the lewdness of the Huns is as sinful as ours, the treachery of the Franks as worthy of accusation, the drunkenness of the Alemanni as reprehensible as that of Christians, the greed of an Alan as much to be condemned as that of a believer? . . .

Finally, what distorted and wicked notions the pagans have always had about the sacraments of the Lord is shown by the bloody inquisitions of brutal persecutors, who believed that at Christian services only vile and abominable rites were performed. Even the origins of our religion were thought to spring from two great crimes, the first being murder and the second incest, which is worse than murder. Nor were these mere murder and incest, but a more wicked thing than the bare commission of either of these crimes, the incest of holy mothers, and the murder of innocent infants, whom, they thought, the Christians not only murdered, but—which is more abominable—devoured. . . .

I must return again to my oft-repeated contention, what have the barbarians like this? Where in their lands are circuses, where are theaters, where those other wicked vices that are the ruin of our hope and salvation? Even if they had such things, being pagans, their error would involve less offence to what is sacred, and less guilt, for though such sights as these are impure, still they would not involve violation of a sacrament.

But as for us, how can we answer in our own behalf? We hold the creed and overthrow it. We are equally ready to confess the gift of salvation and to deny it. Where then is our Christianity, when we only receive the sacrament of salvation (i.e., baptism) to the end that falling from grace we may thereafter sin more grievously than before? We prefer vain shows to God's churches, we scorn his altars and honor the theaters. To conclude, we love and honor everything else; only God, in contrast with worldly pleasures, is vile in our sight. . . .

What hope, I ask you, can there be for the Roman state when barbarians are more chaste and pure than the Romans? What I say is all too little: what hope of life or pardon, I ask, can we have in the sight of God when we see chastity in the barbarians and even so are not willing to be chaste ourselves? Should we not feel shame and confusion at this? Already among the Goths you will find none impure except the Romans, none unchaste among the Vandals except the Romans. So much has the desire for chastity accomplished for the barbarians, so much has the severity of their moral code gained, that not only are they themselves chaste, but—though it is so new and strange an event as to be almost incredible—they have even made some Romans chaste.

If my human frailty permitted, I should wish to shout beyond my strength, to make my voice ring throughout the whole world: Be ashamed, ye Roman peo-

ple everywhere, be ashamed of the lives you lead. No cities are free of evil haunts, no cities anywhere are free from indecency, except those in which barbarians have begun to live. Do we then wonder that we are wretched who are so impure, that we are conquered by the enemy who are outdone by them in honor, that they possess our properties who abjure our wickedness? It is neither the natural strength of their bodies that make them conquer nor the weakness of our nature that makes us subject to defeat. Let no one think or persuade himself otherwise—it is our vicious lives alone that have conquered us.

4. SIDONIUS AND THE VISIGOTHS, 454 A. D. (5)

Sidonius to his dear Agricola, Greeting. Seeing that report commends to the world the graciousness of Theodoric, King of the Goths, you have often asked me to describe to you in writing the dimensions of his person and the character of his life. I am delighted to do so, subject to the limit of a letter, and I appreciate the honest spirit which prompts so nice a curiosity.

Well, he is a man who deserves to be studied even by those who are not in close relations with him. In his build the will of God and Nature's plan have joined together to endow him with a supreme perfection; and his character is such that even the jealousy which hedges a sovereign has no power to rob it of its glories. . . .

Before dawn he goes with a very small retinue to the service conducted by the priests of his faith [Arian Christianity], and he worships with great earnestness, though (between ourselves) one can see that this devotion is a matter of routine rather than of conviction. The administrative duties of his sovereignty claim the rest of the morning. Nobles in armour have places near his throne; a crowd of guards in their dress of skins is allowed in so as to be at hand, but excluded from the presence so as not to disturb; and so they keep up a hum of conversation by the door, outside the curtains but within the barriers. Meanwhile deputations from various peoples are introduced, and he listens to a great deal of talk, but replies shortly, postponing business which he intends to consider, speeding that which is to be promptly settled. The second hour comes: he rises from his throne, to pass an interval in inspecting his treasures or his stables. . . .

When one joins him at dinner (which on all but festive days is just like that of a private household), there is no unpolished conglomeration of discoloured old silver set by panting attendants on sagging tables; the weightiest thing on these occasions is the conversations, for there are either no stories or only serious ones. The couches, with their spreading draperies, show an array sometimes of scarlet cloth, sometimes of fine linen. The viands attract by their skillful cookery, not by their costliness, the platters by their brightness, not by their weight. Replenishment of the goblets or wine-bowls comes at such long intervals that there is more reason for the thirsty to complain than for the intoxicated to refrain. To sum up: you can find there Greek elegance, Gallic plenty, Italian

briskness; the dignity of state, the attentiveness of a private home, the ordered discipline of royalty. But as to the luxury of the days of festival I had better hold my tongue, for even persons of no note cannot fail to note it. . . .

About the ninth hour the burden of royal business is taken up afresh. Back come the importunate petitioners, back come the marshals to drive them off; everywhere the rivalry of the disputants makes an uproar. This continues till evening; then the royal supper interrupts and the bustle fades away, distributing itself among the various courtiers whose patronage this or that party enjoys; and thus they keep watch till the night-watches. It is true that occasionally (not often) the banter of low comedians is admitted during supper, though they are not allowed to assail any guest with the gall of a biting tongue. In any case no hydraulic organs are heard there, nor does any concert-party under its trainer boom forth a set performance in chorus; there is no music of lyrist, flautist or dance-conductor, tambourine-girl or female citharist; for the king finds a charm only in the string music which comforts the soul with virtue just as much as it soothes the ear with melody.

When he rises from the table, the night-watch is first posted at the royal treasury and armed sentries are set at the entrances to the palace, who will keep guard through the hours of the first sleep. But I have already exceeded my part, for I promised to tell you a little about the king, not a long story about his rule; it is also fitting that my pen should come to a stop because you desired to hear only of the tastes and personality of the great man and because I took it upon myself to write a letter, not a history. Farewell.

5. SIDONIUS ON POLITICAL OFFICES (6)

Sidonius to his friend Gaudentius, Greeting. Congratulations, my noble friend, on the office you have won through the dower of your deserts. To win its titles and glories you have not expended a mother's rent-roll, a grandfather's bounty, a wife's jewels or a father's capital; but on the contrary you have won a distinction in an emperor's household by well-tested honesty, well-attested assiduity and an approved claim to intimacy. "O three and four times happy thou" by whose elevation joy is brought to your friends, punishment to your detractors and distinction to your posterity; an example, moreover, to the energetic and zealous and a spur to the idle and lazy. And certainly if others in their turn, no matter in what spirit, become your rivals, such people, though they may claim credit to themselves if they catch up with you, will certainly owe it to you that they follow in your path. I picture myself looking on (I say this with all respect to the better sort) at the combination of arrogance and indolence among your ill-wishers, and at that disdain of public service which is characteristic of the slothful, when, hopeless themselves of rising in the world, they play the philosopher over their wine and praise the leisured lives of those who hold no office,—not from any eagerness for perfection but simply through vicious indolence. . . .

6. RUTILIUS AND THE FUTURE OF ROME, 416 A. D. (7)

Hear me, o queen of the world, divinity seated among the stars! Hear me, o Rome, mother of men and of gods, thou who bringst us closer to heaven through thy temples!

We chant thy praises, and we shall ne'er cease to do so, as long as Fate permits. Should one forget thee, he would not long be safe. I would sooner refuse the sun the tribute of my recognition than stifle in my heart the sentiments which I owe thee. Thy benefits stretch as far as the rays of the sun, to the ends of the earth, encompassed by the encircling Ocean.

Phoebus, the Sun-God, whose chariot-course covers all, for thee alone does move; his steeds that rise from thy domains he guides to rest in thy domains. The burning sands of Libya, the icy climes of the Bear have set only vain obstacles before thy valor. As far as living nature stretches toward the poles, so far have thy virtues permeated the earth. Thou hast made one homeland of divers nations. Thy dominance has brought justice to those who knew it not. By offering to the conquered a share in thine own law, thou hast made a city, where once there was a world. . . .

Rome, thy laws will rule the future world for all ages; thou alone needst not fear the fickle Fates. . . . Thy lifespan will endure so long as there stand an earth, so long as the stars are in the skies.

Questions for Thought

Why have historians not agreed on a satisfactory answer to the problem of why Rome declined? Are there any implications for modern civilization in the waning of Rome's power?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Norman H. Baynes, "The Decline of the Roman Power in the West: Some Modern Explanations," *Journal of Roman Studies,* XXXIII (London, 1943), pp. 29-35. Reprinted by permission of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

(2) Frederick C. Grant, ed., *Ancient Roman Religion* (New York, 1957), pp. 250-51. Reprinted by permission of the Liberal Arts Press Division of The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

(3) Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans,* trans. I. W. Raymond (New York, 1936), pp. 390, 392-93, 396-97. Reprinted by permission of Columbia University Press.

(4) Salvian, *On the Government of God,* trans. E. M. Sanford (New York, 1930), pp. 77-78, 79, 91, 92-93, 109, 122-23, 128, 168-69, 223. Reprinted by permission of Columbia University Press.

(5) Apollinaris Sidonius, *Poems and Letters,* trans. W. B. Anderson (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), I, 334-45. Reprinted by permission of Harvard University Press.

(6) *Ibid.,* pp. 348-51.

(7) Rutilius, "De Reditu Suo," I, 46-66, 133-38 in *Stace, Martial, Manilius, Lucilius Junior, Rutilius, Gratius Faliscus, Nemesianus et Calpurnius, Oeuvres complètes,* ed. by M. Nisard (Paris, 1843), pp. 758-60 (trans. RLH).

CHAPTER TWO

The Problem of Government in the Middle Ages

AFTER the deterioration of Roman authority, Western Europeans had either to tolerate social chaos or to devise substitute forms of authority capable of preventing a descent into barbarism. The problems confronting this society were great. The money economy, which had helped knit together the old Empire even in the long years of political decline, was in a state of decay. The art of politics had degenerated into personal feuds and tribal warfare. Power gravitated to leaders who by personality, ability, or force promised a semblance of order; political fragmentation, however, quickly recurred when death removed such strong men. Such a situation arose after the death in 814 of Charlemagne, the great leader of the Franks. Charlemagne had refined and disciplined to his own advantage the old political ideal of personal loyalty to a leader. His weaker successors allowed hard-earned political and military authority to disintegrate into the small, decentralized units of government called a "feudal system."

The readings in Part I of this chapter illustrate some of the steps by which the Western European feudal system developed. They stress the earlier political features of the system, before its decline due to the pressures of economic and social change. But social creations of the magnitude of feudalism generate principles and customs that become precious to those groups that benefit by them. Such customs may persist into later eras, when changing conditions call for a new political approach. Part II of the chapter demonstrates such a situation: the conflict between King John of England and his barons in 1215.

PART I

The Feudal Idea and Political Authority

"It is to the renown and glory of a chief to be distinguished for the number and valour of his followers. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one's own brave deeds to his renown is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief."

Tacitus thus described the intensely personal relationship existing between a German chieftain and his *comitatus* or military companions. It is also a good description of the spirit behind the loyalties and obligations that linked lords and vassals during the time when the feudal system prevailed in Western Europe. The practice of "commendation," in which a man offered himself and his possessions to some powerful landlord in exchange for protection, began in the dying Roman Empire. But it was only in German practice that the basis of dependency was truly honorable, and this became the essence of the later feudal idea of vassalage.

Personal loyalty was the political criterion of feudalism; its economic base was agrarian and also stemmed from late Roman experience. Landlords of the late Empire occasionally made grants of land to deserving individuals for some fixed period of time. This practice eventually led to the "benefice," in which in return for such grants men promised loyal assistance to the lord in time of need. It was not until Carolingian times that the two concepts of honorable vassalage and the benefice were fused into true feudalism. In those troubled times military service became the principal obligation of the vassal.

Feudalism, therefore, was a political and social organization based on a personal relationship of honorable dependency and overlordship. The men involved were social equals. Lords and vassals, however, were the superiors and masters of the far more numerous peasants who toiled on their private estates, the manorial fiefs.

As a political practice, feudalism has occurred in many times and places. In Western Europe it evolved as one response to the challenges of an environment in which the central government was too weak to protect, military power was in the hands of often irresponsible minorities, and the authority of a centralized social and economic system had decayed. Agrarian isolation promoted the growth of feudalism because the local economic self-sufficiency made necessary by the decay of Roman administration encouraged local authorities to assume many of the powers and activities of the old central government, including lawmaking and the administration of justice.

Feudalism in Western Europe varied considerably in detail during the

course of its development. Two general periods, however, may be traced. Originally, local lords used their personal strength and prestige to assume authority over a limited region where royal authority tended to be fictitious. Time and local custom helped define and encourage acceptance of their authority. By the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, however, the reassertion of royal authority threatened such feudal independence. Royal courts played a more effective role in rendering justice and redefining feudal obligations. The unrestrained militant individualism of the old days was forced into the legally more acceptable channels of tournaments, exaggerated displays of chivalry, and a carefully cultivated class consciousness.

The following readings illustrate this development of Western European feudalism first in terms of the collapse of central authority, the threat of military violence, and the resulting social chaos. They then point up some of feudalism's leading features, which resulted from the substitution of political localism and personal loyalties for the centralism and more abstract loyalties of the formal state. These included the development of new legal and customary devices that supported and cemented the feudal relationship.

The problem here is primarily one of comprehending the ways in which these feudal ideas and practices became so interwoven in daily life that they gave the new age a clearly distinctive character and provided a principle of authority around which Western European civilization might evolve. Was this system the only logical alternative to anarchy as the power of the Roman Empire declined? Did feudalism itself tend toward anarchy because it maintained effective power in the hands of local authorities instead of in those of king or emperor? Should feudalism be described as a genuine political system or as a way of getting along without one?

A. The Decline of Roman Authority: The Groundwork for Feudalism

With the decline of Roman authority in the West a succession of barbarian rulers juggled among themselves the powers once held by the old Roman government. In the first selection Edward Gibbon, the eighteenth-century historian of Rome's decline, graphically described the results during the reign of one barbarian king, Odoacer (476-493). The second selection is a "grant of immunity" from royal authority as issued by a Merovingian ruler in the seventh century. The grant suggests the extent to which the central authority necessary to preserve law and order on a territorial scale had been weakened.

—What kind of political authority might have been most effective in stemming the disorders described by Gibbon? To what extent might barbarian rulers have provided such authority?

—What were the probable political advantages and disadvantages of the practice by rulers of granting immunities?

1. THE DECLINE OF ROMAN AUTHORITY AS SEEN BY EDWARD GIBBON (1)

... Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation. Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves. In the division and the decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine, and pestilence. . . . The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their master, perished or disappeared as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. One third of those ample estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed, was extorted for the use of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was embittered by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarms of barbarians, each senator was apprehensive lest the arbitrary surveyors should approach his favourite villa, or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since he was the absolute master of their fortunes, the portion which he left must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift. The distress of Italy was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himself, at the price of his elevation, to satisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The kings of the barbarians were frequently resisted, deposed, or murdered, by their *native* subjects; and the various bands of Italian mercenaries, who associated under the standard of an elective general, claimed a larger privilege of freedom and rapine. A monarchy destitute of national union and hereditary right hastened to its dissolution. . . .

2. A GRANT OF IMMUNITY OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY (2)

Wherefore, by our present authority we have decreed what we commend shall be kept forever, that the man aforesaid, *so and so,* should have conceded to him *such and such* a vill as we have said, in its entirety, with the lands, houses, buildings, villeins, slaves, vineyards, woods, fields, meadows, pastures, waters or water-courses, grist mills, additions, appurtenances, or any kind of men who are subjected to our Treasury who dwell there; in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind

by conquering the Saxons. In this way that war was begun which was waged continually for thirty-three years, and which was characterized by the most violent animosity on both sides, although the Saxons suffered the greater damage. . . . He never allowed a revolt to go unpunished, but immediately led or sent an army into their territory to avenge it. Finally after all the warriors had been overthrown or forced to surrender to the king, he transplanted some ten thousand men with their wives and children, from their home on the Elbe, to Gaul and Germany, distributing them through these provinces. Thus they were brought to accept the terms of the king, agreeing to abandon their pagan faith and accept Christianity, and to be united to the Franks; and this war which had dragged on through so many years was brought to an end. . . .

Through his conquests the kingdom of the Franks as he had received it from his father Pippin was almost doubled in area. When he came to the throne it included only a part of Gaul and of Germany; . . . Karl added by his wars Aquitaine and Gascony; the Pyrenees and the land south to the Ebro; . . . all of Italy as far south as lower Calabria; . . . Saxony, which forms a considerable part of Germany; . . . Pannonia and Dacia; Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, except the maritime cities which were allied with the emperor of Constantinople; and, finally, all the barbarous tribes inhabiting Germany, between the Rhine, the Danube, the Vistula, and the ocean [Baltic]. . . .

The glory of his reign was also greatly enhanced by his alliances and friendships with foreign kings and peoples. Thus Aldefonso, king of Gallicia and Asturia, was his ally, and spoke of himself by letters and ambassadors as the man of Karl. The kings of the Scots also were wont to address him as master, calling themselves his subjects and servants, of which expressions there are evidences in letters still existing which they have written to him. He was also in close relations with Aaron [Haroun-al-Raschid], king of the Persians, who ruled almost all of the east outside of India, and who always expressed the greatest friendship and admiration for Karl. . . .

2. GENERAL CAPITULARY [LAW] OF CHARLEMAGNE ABOUT THE MISSI, 802 (4)

Concerning the representatives sent out by the emperor. The most serene and Christian emperor, Karl, chose certain of the ablest and wisest men among his nobles, archbishops, bishops, abbotts, and pious laymen, and sent them out through his realm, and through these, his representatives, he gave his people rules to guide them in living justly. He ordered these men to investigate and to report to him any inequality or injustice that might appear in the law as then constituted, that he might undertake its correction. He ordered that no one should dare to change the prescribed law by any trickery or fraud, or to pervert the course of justice for his own ends, as many were wont to do, or to deal unjustly with the churches of God, with the poor or the widows and orphans, or with any Christian man. . . . And he ordered his *missi,* as they desired to win

the favor of Almighty God and keep the faith which they had promised him, to inquire diligently into every case where any man complained that he had been dealt with unjustly by anyone, and in the fear of God to render justice to all, to the holy churches of God, to the poor, to widows and orphans, and to the whole people. And if any case arises which they can not correct and bring to justice with the aid of the local counts, they are to make a clear report of it to the emperor. They are not to be hindered in the doing of justice by the flattery or bribery of anyone, by their partiality for their own friends, or by the fear of powerful men. . . . He has also commanded that every man in his kingdom, clergyman or layman, who has already taken the oath of fidelity to him as king, shall now renew it to him as emperor; and that all persons over twelve years of age who have not yet taken the oath shall do so now.

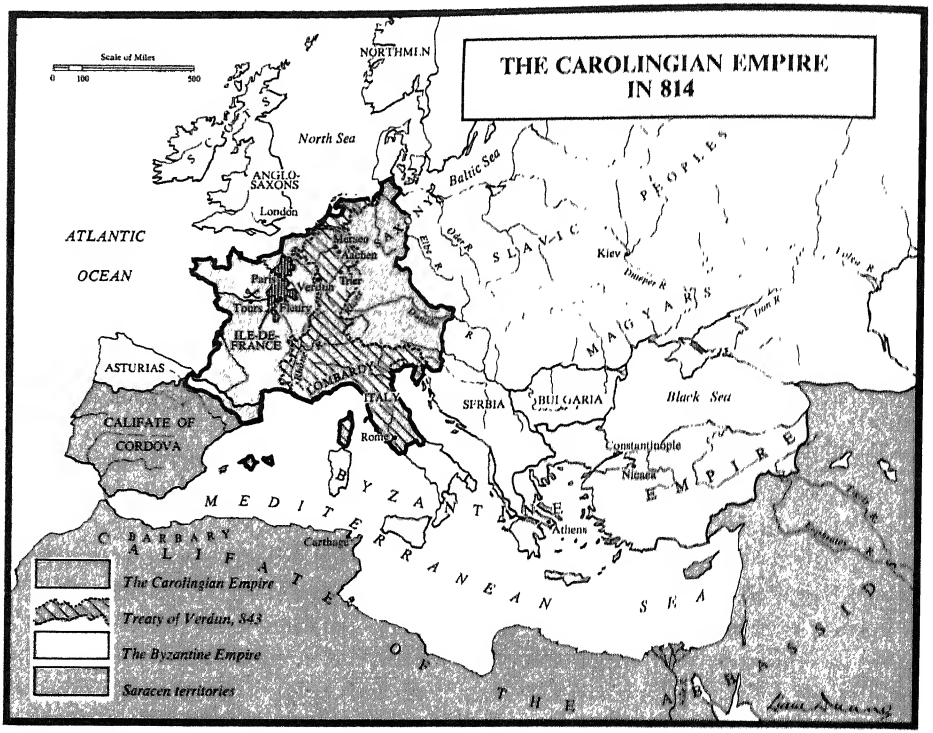
3. LETTER OF CHARLEMAGNE TO AN ECCLESIASTICAL VASSAL ON HIS OBLIGATIONS (5)

Let it be known to you that we have determined to hold our general assembly this year in the eastern part of Saxony, on the River Bode, at the place which is known as Strassfurt. Therefore, we enjoin that you come to this meeting-place, with all your men well armed and equipped, on the fifteenth day before the festival of St. John the Baptist. Come, therefore, so prepared with your men to the aforesaid place that you may be able to go thence well equipped in any direction in which our command shall direct; that is, with arms and accoutrements also, and other provisions for war in the way of food and clothing. Each horseman will be expected to have a shield, a lance, a sword, a dagger, a bow, and quivers with arrows; and in your carts shall be implements of various kinds, that is, axes, planes, augers, boards, spades, iron shovels, and other utensils which are necessary in an army. In the wagons also, should be supplies of food for three months, dating from the time of the assembly, together with arms and clothing for six months. And furthermore we command that you see to it that you proceed peacefully to the aforesaid place, through whatever part of our realm your journey shall be made; that is, that you presume to take nothing except fodder, wood, and water. And let the followers of each one of your vassals march along with the carts and horsemen, and let the leader always be with them until they reach the aforesaid place, so that the absence of a lord may not give to his men an opportunity to do evil.

4. CAPITULARY OF MERSEN, 847 (6)

. . . We will moreover, that each free man in our kingdom shall choose a lord, from us or our faithful, such a one as he wishes.

We command moreover that no man shall leave his lord without just cause, nor should any one receive him, except in such a way as was customary in the time of our predecessors.



The Empire was divided among the grandsons of Charlemagne in 843. One hundred and fifty years later feudal division had continued to the point that the Capetian kings of France held directly only the Île-de-France.

And we wish you to know that we want to grant right to our faithful subjects and we do not wish to do anything to them against reason. Similarly we admonish you and the rest of our faithful subjects that you grant right to your men and do not act against reason toward them.

And we will that the man of each one of us in whosoever kingdom he is, shall go with his lord against the enemy, or in his other needs unless there shall have been (as there may not be) such an invasion of the kingdom as is called a *landwer*, so that the whole people of that kingdom shall go together to repel it.

5. A CHRONICLER ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE, C. 887 (7)

In the month of November on St. Martin's day [November 11, 887], Karl [the Fat] came to Tribur and held a general diet. Now when the nobles of the kingdom saw that the emperor was failing not only in bodily strength, but in mind also, they joined in a conspiracy with Arnulf, son of Karlmann, to raise him to the throne, and they fell away from the emperor to Arnulf in such num-

bers that after three days scarcely anyone was left to do the emperor even the services demanded by common humanity. . . .

Anno 888. After the death of Karl the kingdoms which had obeyed his rule fell apart and obeyed no longer their natural lord [i.e., Arnulf], but each elected a king from among its own inhabitants. This was the cause of many wars, not because there was no longer any prince among the Franks fitted by birth, courage, and wisdom to rule, but because of the equality of those very traits among so many princes, since no one of them so excelled the others that they would be willing to obey him. For there were still many princes able to hold together the Frankish empire, if they had not been fated to oppose one another instead of uniting.

C. Vassalage and the Feudal Contract

Feudalism, as it developed from pre-Carolingian times to the ninth century, gradually refined the custom by which one man agreed to be a dependent of some stronger individual into an honorable personal relationship known as vassalage. This later feudal contract was completed by rituals, such as those of homage and fealty. In these ceremonies a candidate bowed his head in honorable submission to his new lord and vowed as a Christian to be faithful to his pledges. Felony—*the violation of one's word—was the basest of all feudal crimes and is the heart of the plot of* The Song of Roland, *feudalism's greatest epic. The new vassal was granted a fief, usually consisting of landed estates with their income-producing peasantry. Fief-holding involved mutual obligations between lord and vassal. The practice of subinfeudation, or holding of fiefs from several lords, therefore greatly complicated the feudal system of loyalties. The following readings illustrate the origins and later development of vassalage and the economic rewards and personal obligations which were part of this feudal contract.*

—What changes in the nature of "honorable" dependency are revealed in the rituals of earlier and later dates?
—What economic advantages did vassalage often procure for the holder of a fief? How might the Church benefit by the system?
—What kinds of obligations might a vassal have to assume in exchange for a fief?
—How might the system of granting fiefs lend stability to feudal politics? Relate John of Toul's obligations to your analysis.

1. A FRANKISH FORMULA OF COMMENDATION OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY (8)

Who commends himself in the power of another:

To that magnificent lord *so and so,* I, *so and so.* Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore peti-

tioned your piety, and your good-will has decreed to me that I should hand myself over to commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done; that is to say in this way, that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it.

And so long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during the time of my life have the ability to withdraw from your power or guardianship; but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defence. Wherefore it is proper that if either of us shall wish to withdraw himself from these agreements, he shall pay *so many* shillings to the other party (*pari suo*), and this agreement shall remain unbroken.

2. LEGAL RULES FOR HOMAGE AND FEALTY (9)

When any one wishes to enter into the fealty of a lord, he ought to seek him, as we have said above, and should say as follows: "Sir, I request you as my lord, to put me in your fealty and in your homage for such and such a thing situated in your fief, which I have bought." And he ought to say from what man, and this one ought to be present and in the fealty of the lord; and whether it is by purchase or by escheat or by inheritance he ought to explain; and with his hands joined, to speak as follows: "Sir, I become your man and promise to you fealty for the future as my lord towards all men who may live or die, rendering to you such service as the fief requires, making to you your relief as you are the lord." And he ought to say whether for guardianship, or as an escheat, or as an inheritance or as a purchase.

The lord should immediately reply to him: "And I receive you and take you as my man, and give you this kiss as a sign of faith, saving my right and that of others," according to the usage of the various districts. . . .

3. A CAPITULARY CONCERNING FREEMEN AND VASSALS, 816 (10)

If any one shall wish to leave his lord (*seniorem*), and is able to prove against him one of these crimes, that is, in the first place, if the lord has wished to reduce him unjustly into servitude; in the second place, if he has taken counsel against his life; in the third place, if the lord has committed adultery with the wife of his vassal; in the fourth place, if he has wilfully attacked him with a drawn sword; in the fifth place, if the lord has been able to bring defence to his vassal after he has commended his hands to him, and has not done so; it is allowed to the vassal to leave him. If the lord has perpetrated anything against the vassal in these five points it is allowed the vassal to leave him.

Portrayal, from a medieval manuscript, of a noble doing homage. He is swearing to be a faithful vassal and to defend his lord and his lands against invaders.

4. A CHARTER OF HOMAGE AND FEALTY, 1110 (11)

Therefore, let all present and to come know that I the said Bernard Atton, lord and viscount of Carcassonne, acknowledge verily to thee my lord Leo, by the grace of God and abbot of St. Mary of Grasse, and to thy successors that I hold and ought to hold as a fief in Carcassonne the following: . . . for each and all of which I make homage and fealty with hands and with mouth to thee my said lord abbot Leo and to thy successors, and I swear upon these four gospels of God that I will always be a faithful vassal to thee and to thy successors and to St. Mary of Grasse in all things in which a vassal is required to be faithful to his lord, and I will defend thee, my lord, and all thy successors, and the said monastery and the monks present and to come and the castles and manors and all your men and their possessions against all malefactors and invaders, at my request and that of my successors at my own cost; and I will give to thee power over all the castles and manors above described, in peace and in war, whenever they shall be claimed by thee or by thy successors.

Moreover, I acknowledge that, as a recognition of the above fiefs, I and my successors ought to come to the said monastery, at our own expense, as often as a new abbott shall have been made, and there do homage and return to him the power over all the fiefs described above. And when the abbott shall mount to his horse I and my heirs, viscounts of Carcassonne, and our successors ought to hold the stirrup for the honor of the dominion of St. Mary of Grasse; and to him and all who come with him, to as many as two hundred beasts, we should make

the abbot's purveyance in the borough of St. Michael of Carcassonne, the first time he enters Carcassonne, with the best fish and meat and with eggs and cheese, honorably according to his will, and pay the expense of the shoeing of the horses, and for straw and fodder as the season shall require. . . .

5. BISHOP FULBERT OF CHARTRES DEFINES FEUDAL OBLIGATIONS, 1020 (12)

To William most glorious duke of the Aquitanians, bishop Fulbert the favor of his prayers.

Asked to write something concerning the form of fealty, I have noted briefly for you on the authority of the books the things which follow. He who swears fealty to his lord ought always to have these six things in memory; what is harmless, safe, honorable, useful, easy, practicable. Harmless, that is to say that he should not be injurious to him in his secrets or in the defences through which he is able to be secure; honorable, that he should not be injurious to him in his justice or in other matters that pertain to his honor; useful, that he should not be injurious to him in his possessions; easy or practicable, that that good which his lord is able to do easily, he make not difficult, nor that which is practicable he make impossible to him.

However, that the faithful vassal should avoid these injuries is proper, but not for this does he deserve his holding; for it is not sufficient to abstain from evil, unless what is good is done also. It remains, therefore, that in the same six things mentioned above he should faithfully counsel and aid his lord, if he wishes to be looked upon as worthy of his benefice and to be safe concerning the fealty which he has sworn.

The lord also ought to act toward his faithful vassal reciprocally in all these things. And if he does not do this he will be justly considered guilty of bad faith, just as the former, if he should be detected in the avoidance of or the doing of or the consenting to them, would be perfidious and perjured. . . .

6. JOHN OF TOUL DEFINES HIS COMPLEX OBLIGATIONS (13)

I, John of Toul, make known that I am the liege man of the Lady Beatrice, countess of Troyes, and of her son, Theobald, count of Champagne, against every creature, living or dead, saving my allegiance to lord Enjorand of Coucy, lord John of Arcis, and the count of Grandpré. If it should happen that the count of Grandpré should be at war with the countess and count of Champagne on his own quarrel, I will aid the count of Grandpré in my own person, and will send to the count and the countess of Champagne the knights whose service I owe to them for the fief which I hold of them. But if the count of Grandpré shall make war on the countess and the count of Champagne on behalf of his friends and not in his own quarrel, I will aid in my own person the countess and count of

Champagne, and will send one knight to the count of Grandpré for the service which I owe him for the fief which I hold of him, but I will not go myself into the territory of the count of Grandpré to make war on him.

D. Feudalism and the Age of Faith

Feudalism achieved its strongest position at a time when Christianity was spreading throughout Western Europe. Monasteries often received grants of land from pious lords and in turn granted benefices of landed estates to favored individuals. Disputes occasionally occurred over the terms of such grants. One such incident was recorded around 1005 by a monk of the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury, which, located just south of Paris on the Loire River, was one of the most important monasteries in France. The simple recital reveals more than might be expected about the existing relationship of the medieval Church to feudalism and about the nature and influences of religious belief in the tenth century.

—What aspects of feudalism revealed in the earlier selections in this chapter are reflected in the account of the miracle?
—What criteria would you apply to this chronicle to test its validity as a source of history?
—How might a skeptic explain the circumstances of the miracle?

1. A MIRACLE OF ST. BENEDICT (14)

The castle of Sully, which is three miles from Fleury, was in the possession of a certain Herbert, whose father was Herchenald and whose brother Archembald is now Archbishop of Tours. Our venerable abbot Richard, successor to abbot Vulfald, had given this Herbert as a benefice some lands that were church property. But Herbert, being by no means content with these, by an act of scandalous boldness, seized the remaining lands reserved there for the benefit of the monks. So the abbot and the members of the monastery go all together to him, asking him to take to heart the good faith he pledged to them by oath, and to cease occupying their possessions. Since he pays little attention to their pleas, they proceed to lay the mournful burden of their complaint before King Lothar and Duke Hugh,* but make no progress in those quarters either. Then on their own they begin again with the man of bad faith, praying that he take pity on them and halt his oppression of them. Since he nonetheless averts his ears, they come back to his castle. All in all, for practically the whole period of Lent in that year, they poured forth their prayers of tribulation to God, amid solemn litanies, beating at the same time two pieces of brass, in order by the sound to invite the help of all who heard.

Meanwhile that man Herbert, continuing in his evil defiance and daily adding worse deeds to his bad behavior, on a certain night set out with some of

* [King Lothar (954-986) was one of the last Carolingians. Duke Hugh was Hugh Capet, who in 987 founded a dynasty that lasted until 1328.]

his men into the district of the Gâtinais. And since, according to the word of Truth, "He who walks in darkness offends, for the light is not in him," if at the least he lacks the light of virtues and is hemmed in with the shadows of vices, an impious man tries to hide himself and his actions under the added obscurity of mundane night; but though he escapes as far as he may the gaze of human eyes, he is quite unable to flee the eyes of God, which look down on the ways of men and observe all their steps. Indeed, as the blessed Job says, with the Lord there are no shadows or shades of death, in which those who do iniquity may hide. So likewise from this impious Herbert his own light was taken, and he himself was suddenly snatched away, an ending that was long overdue. For as he, seated on the back of his horse, was choosing his way carefully with his men, all surrounded by an evening mist, suddenly he saw beside him a person in monk's clothes bearing the marks of holy wounds, whose whole covering gleamed with an ethereal brightness—as he himself told his men afterwards. And then he let out a horrible cry, for he was hit between the shoulders by a staff which the figure seemed to have in hand; and then the vision disappeared before his eyes. The riders around him, struck by the horror of his cry, try solicitously to find out what has happened to him. "Saint Benedict," he tells them, "just now standing by me, struck me a powerful blow, from which I feel now severe pain. But you faithful fellow-soldiers, follow the path back and take me to my home, and from there hurry to the tomb of the glorious saint to demand urgent forgiveness for me." They followed his orders and took him back to where they had started. Almost on the threshold of his home, in the arms of his servants, he gave up his soul; his devoted vassals (*fideles*), going to the monks of St. Benedict, reported what had happened and asked that the dead body be received for burial. The monks, although fearful of the indignation of the abbot, who at the moment was by chance absent, agreed and buried the body. Although they in part were quietly pleased, yet with pious compassion they did pity the man who had died, for in the first flower of his youth he was now deprived of the gift of this life and was also unable to make up for the wickedness of his ways.

E. The Feudal Ideal in Epic Form

The vigor of spirit and the militant blend of Christianity and politics so characteristic of the earlier feudal period are nowhere better revealed than in The Song of Roland, *most illustrious of the* chansons de geste. *Einhard made but bare mention of the incident in which Charlemagne's rearguard was destroyed by "Saracens" (more probably Gascons) in a pass of the Pyrenees in 777. The minstrels who chanted their own elaborations of the incident before castle firesides knew the tastes and prejudices of their feudal audiences; by the twelfth century the Roland story had expanded into a national epic of heroism, betrayal, and fierce battles. Consequently the epic offers more useful insights into the life and feudal customs of the Capetians than of the time of Charlemagne.*

—What care must be taken in using literary works like *The Song of Roland* as sources of history?
—What insights into the psychological, religious, and political nature of feudalism does the *Song* suggest?

1. THE SONG OF ROLAND: THE BATTLE AT RONCEVAL (15)

Oliver has fared up the mountain, and from the summit thereof he sees all the kingdom of Spain and the great host of the Saracens. Wondrous is the shine of helmets studded with gold, of shields and broidered hauberks, of lances and gonfanons. The battles are without number, and no man may give count thereof, so great is the multitude. Oliver was all astonished at the sight; he got him down the hill as best he might, and came to the Franks, and gave them his tidings.

"I have seen the paynims," said Oliver; "never was so great a multitude seen of living men. Those of the vanguard are upon a hundred thousand, all armed with shields and helmets, and clad in white hauberks; right straight are the shafts of their lances, and bright the points thereof. Such a battle we shall have as was never before seen of man. Ye lords of France, may God give you might! and stand ye firm that we be not overcome." "Foul fall him who flees!" then say the Franks, "for no peril of death will we fail thee."

A medieval representation of Roland and his good sword Durendal.

"Great is the host of the heathen," saith Oliver, "and few is our fellowship. Roland, fair comrade, I pray thee sound thy horn of ivory that Charles may hear it and return again with all his host." "That were but folly," quoth Roland, "and thereby would I lose all fame in sweet France. Rather will I strike good blows and great with Durendal, that the blade thereof shall be blooded even unto the hilt. Woe worth the paynims that they came into the passes! I pledge thee my faith short life shall be theirs. . . ."

When Roland sees that the battle is close upon them he waxes fiercer than lion or leopard. He calls to the Franks, and he saith to Oliver: "Comrade, friend, say not so. When the Emperor left us his Franks he set apart such a twenty thousand of men that, certes, among them is no coward. For his liege lord a man ought to suffer all hardship, and endure great heat and great cold, and give both his blood and his body. Lay on with thy lance, and I will smite with Durendal, my good sword that the King gave me. If I die here, may he to whom it shall fall, say, 'This was the sword of goodly vassal.' "

Nigh at hand is Archbishop Turpin; he now spurs his horse to the crest of a knoll, and speaks to the Franks, and this is his sermon: "Lords, barons, Charles left us here, and it is a man's devoir to die for his King. Now help ye to uphold Christianity. Certes, ye shall have a battle, for here before you are the Saracens. Confess your sins and pray God's mercy, and that your souls may be saved I will absolve you. If ye are slain ye will be holy martyrs, and ye shall have seats in the holy Paradise." The Franks light off their horses and kneel down, and the Archbishop blesses them, and for a penance bids them that they lay on with their swords. . . .

A King there is, Corsablis by name; he is of Barbary, a far-off land, and he spoke to the Saracens, saying: "We shall win a fair day on these Franks for few is their fellowship. And such as be here shall prove themselves of small avail, nor shall one be saved alive for Charles; the day has come whereon they must die." Archbishop Turpin hears him right well, and to no man under heaven has he ever borne such hate; with his spurs of fine gold he pricks on his horse, and rides upon the King with great might, cleaves his shield and rends his hauberk, and thrusts his great lance into his body, and so drives home the blow that sorely the King wavers, and with all the force of his lance Turpin hurls him dead into the path. He looks on the ground where he sees the glutton lie, nor doth he withhold him from speech, but saith: "Coward and heathen, thou hast lied! Charles, my liege lord, is ever our surety, and our Franks have no mind to flee; and we shall have a care that thy comrades go not far hence; yea, and a second death must ye suffer. Lay on ye Franks, let no man forget himself! This first blow is ours, thanks be to God. . . ."

Now the battle waxes passing great on both parties. Count Roland spares himself no whit, but smites with his lance as long as the shaft holds, but by fifteen blows it is broken and lost; thereupon he draws out Durendal his good sword, all naked, spurs his horse and rides on Chernuble, breaks his helm whereon the carbuncles [gems] blaze, cleaves his mail-coif and the hair of his head that the sword cuts through eyes and face, and the white hauberk of fine

mail, and all the body to the fork of the legs, sheer into the saddle of beaten gold, nor did the sword stint till it had entered the horse and cleft the backbone, never staying for joint, that man and horse fell dead upon the thick grass. Thereupon Roland cried: "Coward, woe worth the day thou camest hither! no help shalt thou get from Mahound; nor by such swine as thou shall today's battle be achieved. . . ."

The felon paynims again smite with their lances upon shields and bright helmets; so great is the shock of iron and steel that the flame springs out toward heaven; and lo, how the blood and the brains run down! Great is the dolour and grief of Roland when he sees so many good knights take their end; he calls to remembrance the land of France, and his uncle, Charlemagne the good King, and he cannot help but be heavy. . . .

Then saith Roland: "Sore is our battle, I will blow a blast [on his ivory horn] and Charles the King will hear it." "That would not be knightly," saith Oliver; "when I bid thee, comrade, thou didst disdain it. Had the King been here, we had not suffered this damage; but they who are afar off are free from all reproach. By this my beard, an I see again my sister, Aude the Fair, never shalt thou lie in her arms."

Then saith Roland: "Wherefore art thou wroth with me?" And Oliver answers him, saying: "Comrade, thou art thyself to blame. Wise courage is not madness, and measure is better than rashness. Through thy folly these Franks have come to their death; nevermore shall Charles the King have service at our hands. Hadst thou taken my counsel, my liege lord had been here, and this battle had been ended, and King Marsila had been taken or slain. Woe worth thy prowess, Roland! Henceforth Charles shall get no help of thee; never till God's Judgment Day shall there be such another man; but thou must die, and France shall be shamed thereby. And this day our loyal fellowship shall have an end; before this evening grievously shall we be parted."

The Archbishop, hearing them dispute together, spurs his horse with his spurs of pure gold, and comes unto them, and rebukes them, saying: "Sir Roland, and thou, Sir Oliver, in God's name I pray ye, let be this strife. Little help shall we now have of thy horn; and yet it were better to sound it; if the King come, he will revenge us, and the paynims shall not go hence rejoicing. Our Franks will light off their horses, and find us dead and maimed, and they will lay us on biers, on the backs of sumpters, and will weep for us with dole and pity; and they will bury us in the courts of churches, that our bones may not be eaten by wolves and swine and dogs." "Sir, thou speakest well and truly," quoth Roland.

And therewith he sets his ivory horn to his lips, grasps it well and blows it with all the might he hath. High are the hills, and the sound echoes far, and for thirty full leagues they hear it resound. Charles and all his host hear it, and the King saith: "Our men are at battle." But Count Ganelon [the traitor] denies it, saying: "Had any other said so, we had deemed it a great falsehood. . . ."

The Emperor has commanded that his trumpets be sounded, and now the

Franks light down from their horses and arm themselves with hauberks and helms and swords adorned with gold; fair are their shields, and goodly and great their lances, and their gonfanons are scarlet and white and blue. Then all the barons of the host get them to horse, and spur through the passes; and each saith to other: "And we may but see Roland a living man, we will strike good blows at his side." But what avails it? for they have abode too long. . . .

Then the King let take Count Ganelon, and gave him over to the cooks of his household; and he called Besgon their chief, saying: "Guard him well, as beseems a felon who hath betrayed my house." Besgon took him, and set a watch about him of a hundred of his fellows of the kitchen, both best and worst. They plucked out the hairs of Ganelon's beard and moustache, and each one dealt him four blows with his fist, and hardily they beat him with rods and staves; then they put about his neck a chain, and bound him even as they would a bear, and in derision they set him upon a sumpter [pack animal]. So they guard him till they return him unto Charles. . . .

Count Roland is a full noble warrior, and a right good knight is Gualter del Hum, the Archbishop is of good valour and well tried; not one would leave aught to his fellows, and together, in the thick of the press, they smite the paynims. A thousand Saracens get them to foot, and there are still forty thousand on horseback, yet in sooth they dare not come nigh unto the three, but they hurl upon them lances and spears, arrows and darts and sharp javelins. In the first storm they slew Gualter, and sundered the shield of Turpin of Rheims, broke his helmet and wounded him in his head, and rent and tore his hauberk that he was pierced in the body by four spears; and his horse was slain under him. The Archbishop falls, great is the pity thereof.

But so soon as Turpin of Rheims finds himself beaten down to earth with the wounds of four lances in his body, he right speedily gets him afoot again; he looks toward Roland, and hastes to him, and saith: "I am nowise vanquished; no good vassal yields him so long as he is a living man." And he draws Almace, his sword of brown steel, and in the thick of the press he deals well more than a thousand buffets. Afterwards Charles bore witness that Turpin spared himself no whit, for around him they found four hundred dead, some wounded, some cut in twain amid the body, and some whose heads had been smitten off. . . .

Count Roland sees the Archbishop upon the ground; his bowels have fallen out of his body, and his brains are oozing out of his forehead; Roland takes his fair, white hands and crosses them upon his breast between his two collar bones; and lifting up his voice, he mourns for him, after the manner of his people: "Ah gentle man, knight of high parentage, now I commend thee to the heavenly Glory; never will there be a man who shall serve Him more willingly; never since the days of the apostles hath there been such a prophet to uphold the law, and win the hearts of men; may thy soul suffer no dole or torment, but may the doors of Paradise be opened to thee. . . ."

Now Roland feels that his sight is gone from him. With much striving he gets upon his feet; the colour has gone from his face; before him lies a brown stone, and in his sorrow and wrath he smites ten blows upon it. The sword

grates upon the rock, but neither breaks nor splinters; and the Count saith: "Holy Mary, help me now! Ah Durendal, alas for your goodness! Now I am near to death, and have no more need of you. Many a fight in the field have I won with you, many a wide land have I conquered with you, lands now ruled by Charles with the white beard. May the man who would flee before another, never possess you. For many a day have you been held by a right good lord, never will there be such another in France the free. . . ."

Now Roland feels that death has come upon him, and that it creeps down from his head to his heart. In all haste he fares under a pine tree, and hath cast himself down upon his face on the green grass. Under him he laid his sword and his horn of ivory; and he turned his face towards the paynim folk, for he would that Charles and all his men should say that the gentle Count had died a conqueror. Speedily and full often he confesses his sins, and in atonement he offers his glove to God. . . . Then his head sinks on his arm, and with clasped hands he hath gone to his end. And God sent him his cherubim, and Saint Michael of the Seas, and with them went Saint Gabriel, and they carried the soul of the Count into Paradise. . . .

Questions for Thought

Are there any places in the world today where feudal ideas and practices exist? Are there specific conditions which, in themselves, require the existence of feudalism?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1802), VI, 234-37.
(2) Edward P. Cheyney, ed., "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History,* ed. by Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1898), IV, No. 3, pp. 12-13.
(3) Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal, eds., *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York, 1905), pp. 39-40, 43. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.
(4) *Ibid.,* pp. 49-51.
(5) Frederick A. Ogg, ed., *A Source Book of Medieval History* (New York, 1907), pp. 142-43.
(6) E. P. Cheyney, *op. cit.,* IV, No. 3, p. 5.
(7) Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-68.
(8) E. P. Cheyney, *op. cit.,* IV, No. 3, pp. 3-4.
(9) *Ibid.,* p. 21.
(10) *Ibid.,* p. 5.
(11) *Ibid.,* pp. 18-19.
(12) *Ibid.,* pp. 23-24.
(13) Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.,* pp. 364-65.
(14) E. de Certain, ed., *Les Miracles de Saint Benoit* (Paris, 1858), pp. 107-09 (trans. PLW).
(15) *The Song of Roland,* trans. by Isabel Butler (Boston, 1904), pp. 1-139 passim. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co.

PART II

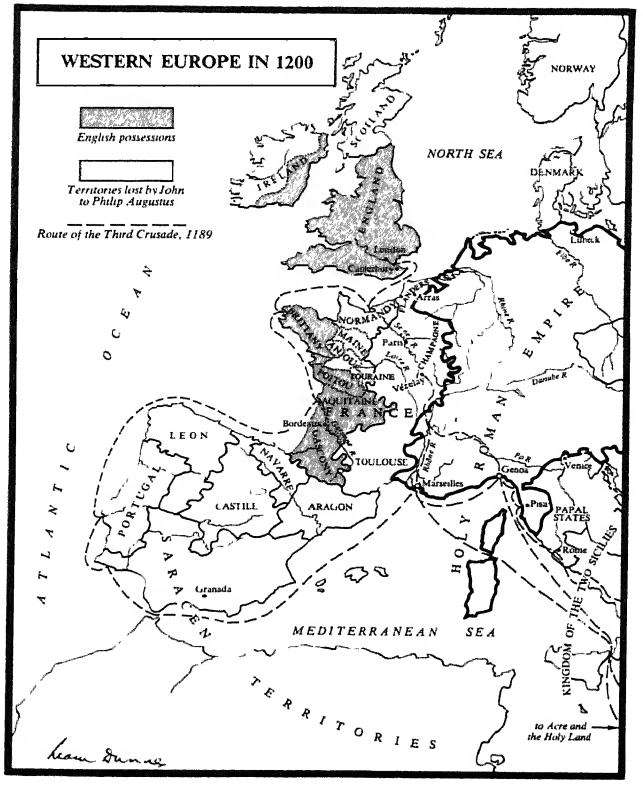
The Forces that Produced Magna Carta

On June 15, 1215, the meadow of Runnymede was the scene of a drama in which King John of England reluctantly set his seal to the document that came to be known as Magna Carta. Historians long have differed about the significance of this event. For centuries it was viewed largely as a melodrama in which sturdy English barons defended personal liberties against a grasping tyrannical king; more recently it has been seen primarily as an attempt to perpetuate feudal localism against the force of royal centralism or as a small step in the growth of constitutional government. Since Magna Carta did refer to rights and liberties, since it did restate and clarify existing feudal relationships, and since it does form a part of the British constitutional tradition, there is at least some merit in each point of view. Before one accepts any interpretation of the drama at Runnymede, however, he must understand the events which led up to it.

The growth of a strong monarchy began with William of Normandy's invasion of Anglo-Saxon Britain in 1066. The Conqueror imposed continental feudal forms on Anglo-Saxon institutions. His immediate successor ruled so arbitrarily, however, that the third Norman ruler, Henry I (1100-1135) renounced upon his accession to the throne the abuses of the previous reign. In the famous Coronation Charter of 1100 (a document which was to play an important part in the Magna Carta struggle), Henry promised to adhere to feudal law in dealing with his vassals. He was nonetheless able to strengthen the central monarchy and to provide England with a relatively efficient and popular government.

A generation of disorder and civil war followed Henry I's death in 1135. The next effective ruler, Henry II (1154-1189), of the Plantagenet family, considerably expanded the royal power. During his reign he became feudal overlord of Scotland and of parts of Wales and Ireland. He also held parts of France: through his mother he had inherited Normandy, through his father the counties of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, and through his wife's dowry he acquired the extensive duchy of Aquitaine. Thus Henry held—as vassal of the French king—over half of France itself, a sprawling empire to which he personally added the province of Brittany. In the fields of law and justice he made significant contributions to the growth of English government. Henry's development of the system of common law and his extension of the jury system strengthened the central government and once again increased its general popularity.

But the seeds of future trouble were sown in his far-flung dominions. Under the skillful leadership of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) the French monarchy



The map clearly shows the significance, both to John and to his overlord, Philip Augustus, of the English King's feudal holdings in France.

girded itself for battle to obtain control of the English fiefs. Richard the Lion-hearted (1189-1199), Henry's courageous but rash elder son, was frequently in conflict with Philip and his allies. It remained for Richard's brother John, who became king in 1199, to carry on the fight to maintain control of the lands across the Channel.

Although Richard spent much of his ten-year reign away from England and entrusted the kingdom to officials, there does not appear to have been any attempt on the part of the barons to tamper with the reforms of Henry II. Nor is there any evidence of organized baronial opposition to the monarch, even though the king was so often absent. All the more remarkable, then, was the change in the relationship between king and barons that occurred after John ascended the throne.

It is evident that John seemed to the barons to be disrupting, or trying to disrupt, accepted patterns of political, religious, and economic power. In reading the selections below, the following questions should be kept in mind: What were John's motives? Of what significance were his position as a powerful agent in Church affairs, his role as the lord of vast Continental domains, and his duties as feudal overlord in England? What was the nature of Magna Carta's contribution to constitutional government?

A. A Contemporary Account of Magna Carta

The following account is from the historical chronicle "Flowers of History," written about 1235 by Roger of Wendover. Roger was a monk at the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans, located about twenty miles from London on the Great North Road, where he may have often seen King John.

—What were the issues between John and his barons, according to Roger of Wendover?

—Is Roger a reliable source of information about the reign of King John?

1. AN ACCOUNT OF MAGNA CARTA BY ROGER OF WENDOVER (1)

A.D. 1214 . . . [King John] held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London and took up his abode at the new temple. And at that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of King Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and Church of England, as were contained in the charter, and above-mentioned laws of Henry the First. They also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Winchester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The King, hearing the bold tones of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle; he however made answer that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter. . . . In Easter week of this same year, the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford with horses and arms, for they now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them and constituted a very large army: for in their army were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped . . . all of these being united by oath, were supported by the concurrence of Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at their head. . . . The barons then delivered to the messengers [of the King] a paper containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that, unless the King immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands . . . and at length he angrily declared with an oath, that he would never grant them such liberties as would render him their slave . . . and when the nobles heard what John said, they . . . directed their forces towards Northampton. . . . When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, there also came to them there messengers from the city of London, and, finding the gates open, they, on the 24th of May [1215]

. . . entered the city without any tumult whilst the inhabitants were performing divine service, for the rich citizens were favorable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them. . . . They then took security from the citizens and sent letters throughout England to those earls, barons, and knights, who appeared to be still faithful to the King, though they only pretended to be so . . . the greatest part of these, on receiving the message of the barons, set out to London and joined them, abandoning the King entirely. . . . King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons would attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing . . . told them for the sake of the peace and for the exaltation and honor of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required. He also sent word to the barons by the same messenger to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The King's messengers then came in all haste to London and without deceit reported to the barons. . . . They in great joy appointed the fifteenth of June for the King to meet them, at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. . . . There were present upon behalf of the King, the Archbishops, Stephen of Canterbury and H. of Dublin, the bishops W. of London. . . . Those who were on behalf of the barons it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were now assembled together in numbers not to be computed. At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, King John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulties, granted the underwritten laws and liberties and confirmed them by his charter. . . .

B. The Character of King John

King John was such a figure of dispute in his own day that no contemporary account of his reign and personality can be wholly relied on. The following evaluation of John's character was made by Professor Sidney Painter in 1949.

—What flaws were there in John's character? What strengths?
—How did these affect his rule?

1. THE PERSONALITY OF JOHN (2)

The only characteristics that John shared with his father and brother were licentiousness and intelligence. Although Richard had scorned to use his brain for other than military purposes, in that field he had shown imagination and sound judgment. John was both imaginative and ingenious. He had a fondness for dissembling and for complicated and tortuous maneuvers. Worse yet he was afflicted with a coarse and vulgar sense of humor—an almost fatal defect in an

English king. But most serious of all was his complete lack of military renown. Nowhere do we find John praised for deeds of prowess on the battlefield. In his entire reign troops under his command fought only one engagement, the relief of Mirabeau castle in 1202, and it seems clear that others were the leaders in that battle. John possessed none of the chivalric virtues. He seduced his ladies without the aid of poetry and considered tournaments a waste of man-power and a possible source of disorder. But while he lacked the attributes most admired in a feudal monarch, John was proud and avid for prestige and power. Throughout his reign he was to devote his energy and intelligence to developing the royal authority in England. Such was the man who had to face the problems left by the gay-hearted Richard. . . .

The general policy adopted by John towards his barons was simple, obvious, and much the same as that of his predecessors. The lords he considered truly dangerous were to be weakened by every possible means. The more moderate dissidents were to be appeased as cheaply as possible. Then the power of barons considered reliable was to be built up and their fidelity reinforced by gratitude. When possible the lords whose power was to be increased to act as a counterbalance against those who were believed to be dangerous were to be barons of secondary importance. But John's deeply suspicious nature and his greed made the effective execution of this policy almost impossible. He was subject to sudden suspicions against those whose loyalty he had been most anxious to secure, and he apparently always secretly regretted the power he had felt obliged to give them. He was to turn his best friends into his most bitter foes. . . .

John's pride and ambition were essentially sources of strength—they impelled him to become a powerful monarch both within and without his realm. But his almost frantic jealousy was a real weakness. A feudal monarch could best control and obtain the support of his baronage through men of baronial rank who were devoted to him and whose competence, wealth, and power gave them prestige among their fellows. . . . [But] the chroniclers make clear that there was a general feeling among his contemporaries that John hated all men of wealth and power. This undoubtedly made it difficult for him to practice the time-honored device of feudal monarchs—to play off one great baron against another. . . . Closely allied to jealousy was John's all-prevailing suspicion. There were few men indeed whom he did not suspect of disaffection or disloyalty at some time or other. . . . No one in John's realm could ever feel certain of the king's good-will. He was continually demanding hostages and castles from his barons as pledges of their good behavior. He seems even to have taken hostages from his mercenary captains who were completely dependent on his will. If, as I have suggested, it was the king's suspicion of his officials that gave us the chancery rolls, the historian must be duly grateful for it, but it was a grave source of weakness for John. No one trusts a man who trusts no one.

John was a man of ideas. He was ingenious—perhaps too ingenious. As we have seen he invented complicated counter-signs and then forgot what they were. His scheme for getting the English clergy to sign declarations that all the money

extorted from them had been given of their own free will was most ingenious. While it may not be true that he forged letters to confuse his enemies, it was the sort of thing a chronicler was ready to believe about him. The idea of inventing counter-signs so that he could issue orders that he knew would not be obeyed was of the same variety. If, as seems probable, John himself thought of the scheme to surrender his realms to the pope and hence secure papal support against his foes, it is further evidence of the activity of his mind. Whatever John may have been he was not dull.

It is always hazardous to apply the term unscrupulous to a man who lived in a remote age because of our inadequate knowledge of the standards accepted by his contemporaries. Certainly John had no hesitation about making promises that he had no intention of keeping, and he lied whenever it seemed convenient to do so, but these are faults common to most kings if not to all governments in general. Still it seems clear that John carried this sort of thing beyond the limits allowed by the ethics of his day. He solemnly approved Magna Carta with apparently the full intention of asking the pope to declare it invalid. Yet his baronial foes refused to issue charters promising loyalty and obedience to him because they did not believe they could keep such promises. And John valued highly such a charter from a baron whose loyalty he suspected. In short John's own standards in this respect were not so high as those he felt confident his vassals would adhere to. Then in the feudal environment as in later times a safe-conduct was a sacred guarantee. Yet it is clear that Stephen Langton and his fellow exiles had little confidence in those issued by John. He insisted that John's letters be supported by those of an imposing array of prelates and barons. It seems very likely that the king's untrustworthiness was a major factor in the baronial discontent. . . .

One of the most reliable of all the contemporary chroniclers describes King John as "a very bad man—cruel toward all men and too covetous of pretty ladies." I am afraid that the first charge is even more certainly established than the second. There seems to be no doubt that John ordered the murder of his nephew Arthur and the death by starvation of Mathilda de Briouse and her son. . . . In short the evidence seems overwhelming that John was savage and brutal when angered. In the case of Arthur he seems to have been guilty of carefully premeditated murder of a dangerous political rival.

Recent historians have shown a marked inclination to rehabilitate King John's reputation. His crimes have been questioned and his virtues exaggerated. This tendency seems to spring from a failure to distinguish between the man and the monarch. In many, perhaps in most, respects John was an excellent king. His close attention to the business of government was in decided contrast to the negligent attitude of King Richard. He was intelligent and aggressive in trying to solve the political and financial problems that faced him. He seems to have fully appreciated the value of able royal servants. . . . He was an innovator who sought to develop the royal power as had his predecessors—hence he was bound to arouse opposition. He found the royal revenue nearly static in a time of rising

HUNT LIBRARY
CARNEGIE-MELLON UNIVERSITY

costs and rising baronial incomes, and he sought to redress the balance. No effort to obtain for a government its share of increasing profits is ever popular. It is important to remember that the fact that Magna Carta forbade a practice, does not make that practice wrong on John's part.

While John was a far better king than his brother or his son—probably as good a one as his father—little can be said in favor of his private character. He was cruel, lecherous, and deceitful. His mind was always seething with jealousy and suspicion of his servants and vassals. He was as close to irreligious as it was possible for a man of his time to be. Against these major vices such minor virtues as generosity to small nunneries can carry little weight. And, as has been suggested before, his personal vices continually hampered his political effectiveness. While the policies of John as king may have kept his vassals in a permanent state of discontent, it was his personal quarrels that supplied leaders for the disaffected.

C. The King, the Pope, and the Church

King John had the misfortune to be pitted against one of the strongest of medieval popes. Innocent III (1198-1216) asserted the power of his office by challenging the authority of secular rulers throughout Europe. The impulsive John first clashed with Innocent in 1205 over the appointment of an archbishop to the see of Canterbury. The monks of that cathedral had elected to the vacant post a man whom the king did not like, and he sought the office for one of his own officials. The Pope took advantage of the controversy to back yet another candidate, Stephen Langton, a famous English scholar-churchman. Langton was consecrated as archbishop by Innocent, but John refused to allow him to set foot in England. The Pope then excommunicated John in 1209. A year earlier he had placed England under interdict—an act by which all Church services in the country were suspended. But Innocent's attempt to coerce John was not immediately effective; for some five years John plundered Church lands, thus augmenting his regular revenues with Church property. Meanwhile, Innocent openly sided with John's bitter rival, Philip Augustus of France, and with other enemies of the English king. Faced with such a formidable alliance, John was finally forced to surrender in 1213. He agreed to do homage to the Pope, to hold England as a papal fief, and to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop. The first document below is a letter written by Langton while he was still forbidden entry into England; the second is the settlement with Innocent III when the interdict against John was finally lifted.

—What kind of appeal did Langton make to win support for the Pope among the English barons?

—How does the charter with the Church illustrate the reciprocal nature of the feudal contract?

—What is significant about the king's acknowledgment that he is "under law"?

1. LETTER OF STEPHEN LANGTON TO THE ENGLISH NOBLES (3)

Stephen, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the Holy Roman Church to his most beloved brothers, sons, and friends in Christ and all faithful Christians in the realm of England, greeting, grace, and benediction. . . . Since the times are bad, and worse, it is believed, approach, we hasten to inform affectionately your serenity that you may hold healthily the path of truth among the present difficulties. In the first place therefore we warn you emphatically that no one of you be executor, counselor, or minister of wickedness. For according to human laws even a serf is not bound to his lord in atrocious acts, less yet you who enjoy freedom in heart and condition. This is proved by clear example. Whoever among you are known to rule over others, receive their homage saving the faith owed the lord king, so that if perchance they offend by the will of command of inferior lords, they are considered traitors and perjurers. So fidelity is promised or sworn to kings or other temporal lords saving the faith owed to the superior lord, that is the eternal king who is king of kings, and lord of lords. Hence whatever service is performed for a temporal king, to the prejudice of the eternal king, is without question treason. Therefore, dear sons, Holy Church has decreed that when any rebel persists in schism his men shall be absolved from the fidelity owed him so that as the schismatic has removed his fidelity from the eternal lord so the fidelity of his men will be taken from him. . . . Dearest sons who have been elevated to the knightly office, remember that you received its insignia from the church so that you might guard this same church with your swords and ours. If moreover it can be defended with less peril than in an armed struggle, that is by faithful counsel and devout admonition, it is just that each one of you guard it the more eagerly. We moreover, on our side are prepared to conserve your rights by prompt solicitude. For neither the church of Canterbury nor of Rome intends to deprive you of the patronage of churches or the right of presentation. . . .

2. JOHN'S CHARTER TO THE CHURCH, 1214 (4)

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, bailiffs, and to all who shall see or hear these letters, greetings. Since by the grace of God, of the mere and free will of both parties, there is full agreement concerning damages and losses in the time of the interdict between us and our venerable fathers Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Bishops William of London, Eustace of Ely, Giles of Hereford, Joscelin of Bath and Glastonbury, and Hugh of Lincoln—we wish not only to make satisfaction to them, as far as in God we can, but also to make sound and beneficial provision for all the Church of

England forever; and so whatsoever custom has been hitherto observed in the English Church, in our own times and those of our predecessors, and whatsoever right we have claimed for ourselves hitherto in the elections of any prelates we have at their own petition, for the health of our soul and the souls of our predecessors and successors kings of England, freely of our mere and spontaneous will, with the common consent of our barons, granted and constituted, and by this our present charter have confirmed: that henceforth in all and singular the churches and monasteries, cathedral and conventual, of all our kingdom of England, the elections of all prelates, whatsoever, greater or less, be free forever, saving to ourselves and our heirs the custody of vacant churches and monasteries which belong to us. We promise also that we will neither hinder nor suffer nor procure to be hindered by our ministers that in all and singular the churches and monasteries mentioned, after the prelacies are vacant, the electors should, whenever they will, freely set a pastor over them, yet so that leave to elect be first asked of us and our heirs, which we will not deny or defer. And if by chance, which God forbid, we should deny or defer, let the electors none the less, proceed to make canonical election; and likewise, after the election is concluded, let our assent be demanded, which in like manner we will not deny, unless we put forth some reasonable excuse and lawfully prove it, by reason of which we should not consent. Wherefore we will and firmly forbid that when churches or monasteries are vacant, any one in anything proceed or presume to proceed in opposition to this our charter. But if any do ever at any time proceed in opposition to it, let him incur the curse of Almighty God and our own. . . . Given by the hand of Master Richard de Marisco, our Chancellor, at the new Temple in London, on the 21st day of November in the 16th year of our reign.

D. The Continental Problem

John had inherited from his father and brother a festering quarrel with the French monarchy, which Pope Innocent shrewdly exploited. Philip Augustus, who was a master of diplomacy and intrigue, ate away at England's French territories throughout John's reign. Normandy fell in 1204, most of Poitou in 1205, and Anjou in 1206, all with little resistance on the part of John's continental vassals. These defeats greatly reduced the cross-channel holdings, and barons who had once held fiefs in France began to concentrate on their English interests.

John periodically attempted to regain by force his lost lands in France. In 1214 he formed a coalition with Emperor Otto of Germany against Philip Augustus. But Otto was decisively crushed in July, 1214, at the battle of Bouvines, a fiasco which had demoralizing effects for John. The following document is an account by Walter of Coventry, a contemporary chronicler, of John's attempt in October, 1214, after Bouvines, to double the fee [scutage] for those vassals who did not want to provide knights for military service as part of their feudal obligation.

—What is the significance of the mention of Poitou?
—Why was the Charter of Henry I introduced into the controversy?

1. NORTHERN BARONS PROTEST (5)

A disagreement arose between John, king of England and some of his barons over a scutage which he asked of those who had not gone with him [or sent substitutes] into Poitou. Among many of those giving scutage, some of the northern barons took exception, those, in fact, who in the past year had prevented the king from going into Poitou, on the grounds that since their lands were held in England, they were not obliged to follow the king outside the realm nor aid him with a scutage if he went himself. However, since the King demanded this [scutage] as an obligation on the ground that it had been conceded in the days of his father and brothers, the matter would have gone farther, but for the restraining presence of the [papal] legate. A certain charter of liberties was brought forward, given to the English by King Henry I, and when the aforesaid barons demanded from the king that he confirm this and observe it, the matter was postponed for another year. . . .

[In the following January] the barons who had demanded this charter met at London, and with, it is said, the help of some of the bishops had an interview with the King on the same matter.

And when he asked for delay because of the novelty of the matter, he did not receive a very friendly hearing, since some remarked that he was only delaying because he had another purpose in mind. . . . And from the time that this charter [of Henry I] was first made known, his [John's] opponents received general support, and all men with one voice and mind agreed that they were united for the house of the Lord, and that they stood for the liberty of Church and realm. For his part, however, the King demanded, as he had done before, a general oath of fealty throughout England, that they would stand by him against all men; and this unusual clause was in addition added—"against this charter." But when they showed their disapproval, and began to make excuses, the King, thinking the time inopportune for inciting the people to disorder, gave up his attempt. However he sent word to the Pope complaining that they were ready to rise against him, in defiance of their allegiance; for he got to know, through some of their associates, that many of them had been making efforts of this nature for some time past. . . .

E. The Feudal Problem

King John was under constant financial pressure throughout his reign. In earlier times the medieval king had been expected to "live of his own," that is, to be supported entirely by the revenues collected from his feudal holdings. But as expenses multiplied, the older feudal dues no longer sufficed to meet the needs of

the monarch. During his struggle with the Church John had not hesitated to help himself to certain Church revenues, but after 1213 this illegal source of income dried up at the very time when John's alliance with the Emperor Otto called for increased funds for military ventures. Hence the king suffered increasing financial strain after 1213, and as a feudal overlord he increased his demands on his tenants-in-chief, the English baronage. Although John did not devise any new and illegal sources of revenue, the barons became increasingly conscious of what seemed to them to be violations of their feudal rights.

Baronial resistance to John's demands was slow and hesitant. Some authorities give substantial credit for organizing such resistance to the Pope's representative, Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Langton, a highly intelligent master of church law, was also a feudal lord and baron and expected, according to feudal custom, to be consulted by his lord king as well as to present the Papal wishes to his vassal, John. The activities of Langton in drawing the attention of the barons to their inherited rights are discussed in the biography of Langton by Professor F. M. Powicke, which appeared in 1928. The second selection contains sections from the "Unknown Charter" discussed by Powicke.

—To what extent was Langton a "restorer" rather than an innovator?
—How is the "Unknown Charter" representative of feudalism?

1. POWICKE ON LANGTON AND BARONIAL OPPOSITION (6)

Langton set to work to redress the balance immediately after his arrival in England in July 1213. He worked hard for two years, and he very nearly succeeded in the task which he set himself—the maintenance of the royal confidence, the observation of the coronation oath, the restoration of union and order, the restatement of English custom in the light of new necessities. I cannot see that the king was unfriendly to him—at any rate before the beginning of 1215—or did not come to respect and value his advice. . . . Magna Charta was regarded by Langton as an elaboration of the coronation oath. . . .

The history of the charter begins in the summer of 1213 and not later. Unrest was general in England when John made his peace with the Church. . . . A few days after landing in England, Langton and other prelates met the King at Winchester. . . . John had previously sworn upon the Gospels that he would love, defend, and maintain the Church, recall the good laws of his ancestors, especially those of St. Edward the Confessor, and do away with bad laws, judge all men in accordance with the just judgments of his court, and render his rights to every man. This was obviously an expansion of the coronation oath. . . .

John was anxious to sail to Poitou, where he wished to strike at Philip, who was engaged with war against the allies in Flanders. He made the bishop of Winchester guardian of the peace of the realm, . . . entrusted his administration to the justiciar and bishop, and, according to Wendover, ordered them to act with the counsel of the archbishop [Langton]. The three magnates moved on

to St. Albans where the king's undertaking was put into force. Peace was enjoined upon all, and in the king's name an order was issued that the laws of Henry I should be observed and that servants of the Crown should desist from exactions and unlawful practices. Here we get the first reference to the laws of Henry I. . . . Within a month of his arrival the archbishop had fastened upon these as his guide in the interpretation of the royal promises. . . . In other words reflection upon political issues in the light of early history had really begun, and in English history the names of Edward the Confessor and of Henry I stood out before all others. . . .

From St. Albans the archbishop had come to London, where a great assembly of clergy and barons gathered at St. Paul's on 25 August. . . . Wendover proceeds to say that during the conference the archbishop is said to have called aside some of the leading barons for a private talk. He reminded them of the recent events at Winchester, and went on: "A charter of Henry I has been found, by means of which, if you desire, you may regain your lost liberty." Then he read Henry's coronation charter to them. The barons rejoiced greatly when they heard it and took an oath that, when the time was ripe, they would fight for their liberties. The archbishop promised to aid them to the best of his power. There is no suggestion, it should be noted, that these barons were rebels. . . . The movement, I repeat, was not a rebellion, it was the natural and inevitable response to the solemn scene at Winchester. To speak of it as selfish or reactionary is entirely to miss its significance, and to forget, in our absorption in what we wrongly call feudal law, the awakened interest in the nature and responsibilities of kingship.

Now there is a document which exactly reflects the position which the movement of opinion had reached in the autumn of 1213, and the following months. It is known to students as the Unknown Charter—unknown because it did not attract the attention of scholars until 1893. . . . The charter in the form in which it has come down to us is obviously a descriptive draft. We have no evidence that it was ever formally issued, but as a provisional settlement it fits this occasion, and I would assign it to the period between the autumn of 1213 and the summer of 1214, as the first legal commentary since Langton's arrival on the oath at Winchester and the charter of Henry I. . . .

[After Bouvines] John returned to England discredited, and the exaction of the scutage increased the unrest, intensified the desire, especially of the younger barons, to secure a more comprehensive settlement. . . . They resented the exactions of the officials and the bureaucratic indifference of the *curia regis*. There were hotheads and men nursing personal grievances among them, but it is a fatal mistake to imply that the English baronage was not an integral part of the state and versed in public affairs. . . . A baron was accustomed in council to discuss politics and by arbitration to decide knotty points which were transmitted by the judges. If and as he acquired a reputation, he might serve as a judge or baron of the exchequer. In the administration of his lands, he had liberties of a semi-official kind, as much a part of acknowledged custom as the king's rights, and requiring for their exercise the same kind of experience as the king and his min-

isters possessed. He was not a stranger to the king, for he was not immersed in other interests. He was in constant contact with the system of government of which he formed a part, and with the local courts, the exchequer, the royal household. . . . This was the root of the matter and it implies that those who had a share in the affairs should help the king to govern in the general interest. The barons, not the people, were with the king responsible in God's sight.

Hence when we regard the events of 1214-15, let us call the charter a baronial document as much as we please, but do not let us imply thereby that it was a piece of selfish and reactionary class legislation. If we exclude the revolutionary security clause, and the temporary provisions, it was a statement of custom or of what was regarded as a legitimate restatement of custom, and as such it was accepted, with a few modifications, by all the parties, the guardian of the realm, the legate, and at length, by the pope himself. It was regarded as a safeguard of ecclesiastical as well as of secular rights, and it took the place of the "Laws of the Confessor" as the guarantee of sound government. Much of it had long been needed, some of it restates earlier legislation, all of it was consistent with tradition. . . . It was a statement of common law no less than a piece of common sense.

2. UNKNOWN CHARTER (7)

1. King John concedes that he will not arrest any man without judgment, nor accept anything for justice, nor commit injustice.

2. And if it happens that my baron or my man should die and his heir is of age, I should return his land to him for a right relief without taking more. . . .

4. If a female should be the heiress of the land, I must marry her off with the counsel of her kin and in such fashion as befits her rank. And if I shall have married her off once, I can not give her in marriage again, but she shall marry off at her pleasure, but not to one of my enemies.

5. If it should happen that a baron or man of mine should die, I grant that his money should be distributed according to his will and if he shall be overtaken either in a fight or by unforeseen illness, his wife or children, or relatives and nearer friends should distribute it for the good of his soul. . . .

7. Besides I concede to my men that they shall not serve in the army outside England except Normandy or Brittany, this in due fashion that if anybody owes in this matter the service of ten knights, he shall be relieved with the counsel of my barons.

8. And if scutage shall be introduced in the land, one mark silver will be taken for each knight's fee, and if the burden of army service necessitates more shall be taken, it will be taken with the advice of the barons of the realm.

9. Besides I concede that all the forests which my father and my brother and I have taken, shall be returned for ordinary use. . . .

11. And if any of my men should die who is in debt to a Jew, the debt shall not draw interest while his heir is under age.

F. Magna Carta—1215

In June, 1215, the barons gathered their forces on the meadow of Runnymede, west of London, and compelled John to put his seal to the Great Charter.

—To what extent is the charter a continuation of the earlier charters we have been examining?

—To what extent is it a feudal document?

—To what extent does it go beyond mere protection of the barons against an arbitrary king?

1. THE GREAT CHARTER (8)

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, reeves, servants, and all bailiffs and his faithful people greeting. Know that by the inspiration of God and for the good of our soul and those of all our predecessors and of our heirs, to the honor of God and the exaltation of holy church, and the improvement of our kingdom by the advice of our venerable fathers Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman church. . . .

1. In the first place, we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed, for us and for our heirs forever, that the English church shall be free, and shall hold its rights entire and its liberties uninjured; and we will that it be thus observed; which is shown by this, that the freedom of elections, which is considered to be most important and especially necessary to the English church, we, of our pure and spontaneous will, granted, and by our charter confirmed before the contest between us and our barons had arisen; and obtained a confirmation of it by the lord Pope Innocent III.; which we shall observe and which we will, shall be observed in good faith by our heirs forever.

We have granted moreover to all free men of our kingdom for us and our heirs forever all the liberties written below, to be had and holden by themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding from us in chief by military service shall have died, and when he has died his heir shall be of full age and owe relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief. . . .

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry so long as she prefers to live without a husband, provided she gives security that she will not marry without our consent, if she holds from us, or without the consent of her lord from whom she holds, if she holds from another. . . .

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter, and for

these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid; in the same way it shall be done concerning the aids of the city of London.

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water. Moreover, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs. . . .

16. No one shall be compelled to perform any greater [military] service for a knight's fee or for any other free tenement than is owed from it. . . .

20. A free man shall not be fined for a small offense, except in proportion to the measure of the offense; and for a great offense, saving his freehold; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise; and the villein shall be fined in the same way, saving his wainage [harvested crops for seed and estate needs], if he shall be at our mercy; and none of the above fines shall be imposed except by the oaths of honest men of the neighborhood.

21. Earls and barons shall be fined only by their peers, and only in proportion to their offence. . . .

23. No manor or man shall be compelled to make bridges over the rivers except those which ought to do it of old and rightfully. . . .

28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take anyone's grain or other chattels, without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the good will of the seller. . . .

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours or anyone else shall take horses or wagons of any free man for carrying purposes except on the permission of that free man. . . .

35. There shall be one measure of wine throughout our whole kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of grain. . . .

39. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. . . .

41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in going from England and coming into England and in remaining and going through England, as well by land as by water, for buying and selling, free from all evil tolls, by the ancient and rightful customs, except in time of war, and if they are of a land at war with us. . . .

45. We will not make justiciars, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, except of such as know the law of the realm and are well inclined to observe it. . . .

60. Moreover, all those customs and franchises mentioned above which we have conceded in our kingdom, and which are to be fulfilled, as far as pertains to us, in respect to our men; all men of our kingdom as well clergy as laymen, shall observe as far as pertains to them, in respect to their men.

61. Since, moreover, for the sake of God, and for the improvement of our kingdom, and for the better quieting of the hostility sprung up lately between us and our barons, we have made all these concessions; wishing them to enjoy these in a complete and firm stability forever, we make and concede to them the security described below; that is to say, that they shall elect twenty-five barons

of the kingdom, whom they will, who ought with all their power to observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them, and by this our present charter confirmed to them, in this manner, that if we or our justiciar, or our bailiffs, or any of our servants shall have done wrong in any way towards any one, or shall have transgressed any of the articles of peace or security; and the wrong shall have been shown to four barons of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, let those four barons come to us or to our justiciar, if we are out of the kingdom, laying before us the transgression, and let them ask that we cause that transgression to be corrected without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression or, if we shall be out of the kingdom, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it within a period of forty days, . . . the aforesaid four barons shall refer the matter to the remainder of the twenty-five barons, and let these twenty-five barons with the whole community of the country distress and injure us in every way they can; that is to say by the seizure of our castles, lands, possessions, and in such other ways as they can until it shall have been corrected according to their judgment, saving our person and that of our queen, and those of our children; and when the correction has been made, let them devote themselves to us as they did before. . . .

Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Questions for Thought

Why might Magna Carta have a popular appeal for subsequent generations of Englishmen? How tenable is the thesis that shifting political balances within a given society determine the constitutional evolution of that society?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) John A. Giles, ed. and trans., *Roger of Wendover's "Flowers of History"* (London, 1849), II, 304-09.
(2) Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 18-19, 24-25, 228-30, 236-38. Reprinted by permission of The Johns Hopkins Press.
(3) William Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Series, London, 1879-1880), II, lxxviii-lxxxiii.
(4) George B. Adams and H. Morse Stephens, eds., *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* (New York, 1901), pp. 40-41. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.
(5) William Stubbs, ed., *Historical Collection of Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Series, London, 1873), II, 217.
(6) F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 111-17, 119-22. Reprinted by permission of The Clarendon Press.
(7) *Statutes of the Realm,* I, 171-75.
(8) Edward P. Cheyney, ed., "English Constitutional Documents of the Middle Ages," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History,* ed. by Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1897), I, No. 6, pp. 6-17.

CHAPTER THREE

The Medieval Church

THE extension of Christianity, first within the Mediterranean world and later among the barbarian peoples of Europe, was due in great measure to the intrinsic appeal of its doctrines. The body of the Christian message, however, and the structure of the ecclesiastical institutions that preserved and spread that message were affected from the start by forces that differed from the objectives of the founder. This process began with the decision to admit gentiles into a Jewish religious reform movement and continued with the hellenizing of Christian doctrine initiated by Paul of Tarsus. Likewise the institutional development of the Church was shaped by the history of the Roman Empire. A similar situation occurred with the breakdown of the Empire and the advent of the Middle Ages. Thus both the Christian religion as a cultural phenomenon and the Christian Church as a social institution have been molded by strong and varied historical influences. This chapter deals with the Church in this light, focusing on the ways in which it was affected by the transition from the Roman Empire to medieval society. Part I is concerned with the Church's adjustment to feudal society, Part II with the relationship of the Church to secular political authority.

PART I

Christianity and the Feudal Church

The cities and towns of the Empire provided the institutional foundation upon which Roman civilization was built. The Christian Church was firmly

rooted in this foundation. After the conversion of the emperors to Christianity, the Church enjoyed the protection of the state and received financial support from the government in addition to its own ecclesiastical taxation. The barbarization of the Roman Empire in the West, however, gradually altered the institutional framework within which the Church had flourished. Like other elements of the Roman community, it had to adapt itself to survive in the emerging feudal society; as a result the Church itself became partly feudal in character.

Christian beliefs and practices had been consolidated and formalized during the later Roman Empire. The central doctrines of the Christian religion thus survived fairly intact despite the thinness of the Judeo-Christian veneer coating the converted barbarian peoples of Europe and the infiltration of local pagan cults into the calendar of saints and festivals. Nevertheless the transition to medieval society was not achieved without affecting Christianity in terms of its spirit or quality. The Church's avowed purpose was to serve as a means to an end, to teach the Christian message. As an institution, however, it was also an end in itself; part of its effort was devoted to keeping itself in existence. Perhaps in every age the ideals of religion have conflicted with the practical needs of the institutions which housed them. Certainly the struggle for survival in the midst of feudal society absorbed much of the Christian Church's energies in the Middle Ages. Did this occur to the detriment of the religion itself? How was the medieval Church affected by feudalism? How were the ideals of early Christianity affected by the nature of the medieval Church? The reader should keep such questions in mind while reading the following selections, drawn largely from English sources but typical of the problems confronting the feudal Church throughout Europe.

A. The Feudalization of the Church

The problem faced by the Church in adapting itself to feudal conditions was dealt with by Marc Bloch, noted French medievalist, in his book Feudal Society, *a section of which follows below.*

—Why does Bloch say that the problem was a social one?
—What is meant by the "feudalization" of the Church?

1. BLOCH: THE ECCLESIASTICAL SOCIETY WITHIN THE FEUDAL WORLD (1)

In the feudal period the dividing-line between the clergy and lay society was not so clear and firm as that which the Catholic reform movement endeavoured to draw about the time of the Council of Trent. A whole population of 'tonsured persons', whose status remained ill-defined, formed an indeterminate borderland on the frontiers of the two great groups. Nevertheless the clergy constituted in a high degree a legal class; for, as a body, it was characterized

by its own peculiar law and jealously-guarded rights of jurisdiction. On the other hand, it was in no sense a social class; within its ranks coexisted human types differing widely in mode of life, power and prestige.

First of all we have the multitude of monks, all 'sons of St. Benedict', but subject in fact to increasingly varied versions of the primitive Benedictine Rule—a divided and pulsating world, ceaselessly tossed to and fro between pure asceticism and the more mundane cares inseparable from the administration of great wealth, or even from the humble business of gaining a livelihood. Moreover, we must not picture this body as separated from the laity by impassable barriers. Even those Rules which embodied the most uncompromising principles of reclusion had in the last resort to yield to practical necessity. Monks had the cure of souls in parishes. Monasteries opened their schools to pupils who would never assume the cowl; especially after the Gregorian reform they became a nursery of bishops and popes.

Socially in the lowest category of the secular clergy, the priests of country parishes, poorly educated and badly paid, led a life which differed little if at all from that of their flocks. Before Gregory VII they had almost all been married. Even after the great ascetic campaign instigated—in the words of one monastic text—by 'that teacher of impossible things', the 'priestess', the priest's wife in fact and sometimes in law, long continued to figure among the familiar personages of village folklore. So much was this the case that here the word class could almost have been taken in its strictest sense: in the England of Thomas Becket, dynasties of priests do not appear to have been much more uncommon than descendants of 'popes' are today in the Orthodox countries, nor as a general rule less respectable. Then, higher up the scale there was the wealthier and more refined circle of the town priests, the canons attached to a cathedral, the clerks or dignitaries of episcopal courts.

Finally, at the summit, forming to some extent the link between the two hierarchies, the regular and the secular, stood the prelates: abbots, bishops, and archbishops. In wealth, power, and aptitude for command these great lords of the Church were the equals of the greatest military barons.

Now the sole problem with which we need to concern ourselves here is a social one. This body of servants of God, whose mission, inherited from what was already an old tradition, remained in theory remote from all temporal concerns, was nevertheless obliged to find a place for itself in the characteristic structure of feudal society. In what degree was it influenced by surrounding institutions, while influencing them in its turn? In other words, since historians are accustomed to speak of the 'feudalization' of the Church, what concrete meaning are we to attach to this phrase?

For the clergy, preoccupied with liturgical duties or the demands of the ascetic life, with the cure of souls or with study, it was impossible to seek a livelihood through directly productive forms of labour. The monastic reformers attempted at various times to induce the monks to live on the produce of fields cultivated by their own hands. But they invariably ran up against the same fundamental difficulty: time devoted to these material tasks was time taken from meditation or divine service. As for hired labour, we know very well that it was

out of the question. It was therefore necessary that the monk and the priest should live—as Ramon Lull said of the knight—by the 'weariness' of other men. The country parson himself, though no doubt he did not disdain on occasion to handle the plough or the spade, derived the best part of his meagre income from the share of fees or tithes which the lord of the village had agreed to allot to him.

Formed by the accumulated alms of the faithful, augmented by purchases, often at a price which took into account the benefit of the prayers promised for the soul of the vendor, the patrimony of the great churches, or rather the patrimony of the 'saints' (for this, so far from being a mere legal fiction, was then the prevailing notion), was essentially of a seignorial nature. Immense fortunes were amassed by monastic communities or prelates, sometimes amounting to those almost princely agglomerations of estates and varied rights whose role in the establishment of territorial lordships we shall consider later. Now, lordship meant not only rents, but also authority. The heads of the clergy had therefore under their orders a great many lay dependants of every rank, from military vassals, indispensable for the protection of such great properties, to villeins and 'commended men' of inferior degree.

The latter group, in particular, gravitated to the church estates in large numbers. Was it really because to live 'under the cross', rather than the sword, seemed an enviable lot? The controversy went back a long way: as early as the twelfth century, we find the critical Abelard opposing the views of the abbot of Cluny, eager to extol the mildness of the monastic regime. In so far as it is permissible to leave the individual factor out of account, what it amounts to, after all, is the question whether a strict master (such as the clergy generally were) is better than an unreliable one. The problem is really insoluble; but two things are certain. The perennial character of ecclesiastical establishments and the respect which surrounded them caused them to be much sought after as protectors by the poor. Moreover, he who gave himself to a saint gained both protection against earthly perils and the no less precious benefits of an act of piety. It was a double advantage which the charters, drawn up in the monasteries, frequently expressed by asserting that the man who became the serf of a church was in reality entering into true freedom. By this was meant—though the distinction between the two ideas was not always very clearly drawn—that in this world he would share in the immunities of a privileged corporation, and in the next be guaranteed 'the eternal freedom which is in Christ'. There are cases on record of grateful pilgrims earnestly seeking permission from their original lord to subject themselves and their posterity to the representatives of the powerful intercessor who had healed them. Thus, in the formation of the network of personal subjections so characteristic of the age, the houses of prayer were among the most powerful centres of attraction.

Nevertheless, by thus transforming itself into a great earthly power, the Church of the feudal era exposed itself to two risks of which contemporaries were fully aware. In the first place, it was in danger of being too readily forgetful of its proper function. 'What a fine thing it would be to be archbishop of Rheims, if only one did not have to sing mass!' Public rumour attributed this

remark to Archbishop Manasses, deposed in 1080 by the papal legates. Whether true or slanderous, the anecdote is symbolic of the period when the recruitment of the French episcopate was more scandalous than at any other time in its history. After the Gregorian reform, such cynicism would have made the story incredible. But the type of warrior prelate—those 'good knights of the clergy', as one German bishop called them—was to be found in all periods. Moreover, the spectacle of so much wealth amassed by churchmen, the resentment awakened in the hearts of 'impoverished' heirs at the thought of so many fine estates but lately surrendered by their ancestors to monks skilled in making capital out of the fear of hell, together with the contempt of the warrior for so sheltered a mode of life, produced that brand of anticlericalism which found such forthright expression in many passages of the epics. Though quite compatible with the renewal of generous alms-giving in moments of remorse, or in the anguish of death, these sentiments none the less underlay certain political attitudes as well as some genuinely religious movements.

In a world which was inclined to conceive of all ties between one man and another in terms of the most binding of them, it was almost inevitable that in the very heart of ecclesiastical society the practices of vassalage should impregnate relationships of subordination of a much older and essentially very different kind. The bishop demanded homage from the dignitaries of his chapter or the abbots of his diocese; the canons who held the largest prebends required it from their less well-provided colleagues; and the parish priests had to do homage to the head of the religious community on which their parishes were dependent. The introduction into the spiritual citadel of customs so plainly borrowed from the secular world could not fail to arouse the protests of the rigorists. But the evil became much graver when the hands in which those of the priest, sanctified by the consecrated oil of ordination and the contact of the Eucharist, were placed for the rite of submission were the hands of a layman. The problem here is inseparable from another and much vaster one—one of the most anxious, certainly, which ever confronted the Church: the problem of appointments to the various posts in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

It was not the feudal era which originated the practice of handing over to the temporal powers the responsibility for choosing the shepherds of souls. In the case of the village curés, of which the lords disposed more or less freely, the practice went back to the very origins of the parochial system. What of the bishops or abbots? The sole procedure conformable to the canonical rule was unquestionably election: by the clergy and people of the city, in the case of the former; by the monks, in the case of the latter. But as far back as the last days of the Roman Empire, the emperors had not hesitated to impose their will on the electors in the cities and even occasionally to appoint bishops directly. The sovereigns of the barbarian kingdoms followed suit, and the bishops were appointed by the rulers much more generally than hitherto. Abbots of monasteries which were not also directly dependent on the king were frequently appointed by the founder of the house or his heirs. The truth was that no serious government could afford to leave outside its control the assignment of offices which—

apart from a heavy religious responsibility, from which no ruler solicitous for the welfare of his people had the right to dissociate himself—involved so great a measure of purely secular authority. Confirmed by Carolingian practice, the idea that it was for the kings to 'designate' the bishops ended by becoming a recognized principle. In the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, popes and prelates unanimously concurred in it.

Nevertheless, in this sphere as in others, the institutions and practices inherited from the past were to come under the influence of a new social atmosphere.

In the feudal era every transfer of property—an estate, a right, or an office—was effected by the handing over of a material object which represented the subject of the grant. The cleric appointed by a layman to take charge of a parish, a diocese, or a monastery therefore received from this collator an 'investiture' in the usual forms. For the bishop the favourite symbol from the time of the first Carolingians was very naturally a crosier: to this was later added a pastoral ring. It goes without saying that this delivery of insignia by a temporal chief by no means dispensed with the liturgical consecration; in this sense, it was powerless to create a bishop. But we should be gravely mistaken were we to imagine that its role was limited to marking the transfer to the prelate of the property attached to his new dignity. Both the right to the office and the right to the stipend that went with it—though no one felt the need to distinguish between two indissoluble elements—were thereby simultaneously conveyed. Moreover this ceremony, if it underlined somewhat crudely the preponderant part claimed by the secular authorities in ecclesiastical appointments, in itself added almost nothing to a state of things that had long been recognized. It was otherwise with another gesture charged with much deeper human significance.

From the cleric to whom he had just confided an ecclesiastical office, the local potentate or the sovereign expected in return an unwavering loyalty. Now, since the formation of Carolingian vassalage, no engagement of this nature—at least among the upper classes—was considered really binding unless it was contracted according to the forms developed by the Frankish practice of commendation. The kings and the princes were therefore accustomed to require from the bishops or abbots nominated by them an act of homage; and the lords of villages sometimes required the same of their parish priests. But homage, in the strict sense, was a rite of subjection; and a much respected rite, moreover. By its means the subordination of the representatives of the spiritual power to the lay power was not only strikingly displayed; it was also reinforced, inasmuch as the combination of the two formal acts—homage and investiture—fostered a dangerous assimilation of the office of the prelate to the fief of the vassal. . . .

B. The Role of the Church in Feudal Society

Feudal society was organized on a footing of permanent war; when external enemies were lacking the military class fought among itself and preyed upon the

apart from a heavy religious responsibility, from which no ruler solicitous for the welfare of his people had the right to dissociate himself—involved so great a measure of purely secular authority. Confirmed by Carolingian practice, the idea that it was for the kings to 'designate' the bishops ended by becoming a recognized principle. In the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, popes and prelates unanimously concurred in it.

Nevertheless, in this sphere as in others, the institutions and practices inherited from the past were to come under the influence of a new social atmosphere.

In the feudal era every transfer of property—an estate, a right, or an office—was effected by the handing over of a material object which represented the subject of the grant. The cleric appointed by a layman to take charge of a parish, a diocese, or a monastery therefore received from this collator an 'investiture' in the usual forms. For the bishop the favourite symbol from the time of the first Carolingians was very naturally a crosier: to this was later added a pastoral ring. It goes without saying that this delivery of insignia by a temporal chief by no means dispensed with the liturgical consecration; in this sense, it was powerless to create a bishop. But we should be gravely mistaken were we to imagine that its role was limited to marking the transfer to the prelate of the property attached to his new dignity. Both the right to the office and the right to the stipend that went with it—though no one felt the need to distinguish between two indissoluble elements—were thereby simultaneously conveyed. Moreover this ceremony, if it underlined somewhat crudely the preponderant part claimed by the secular authorities in ecclesiastical appointments, in itself added almost nothing to a state of things that had long been recognized. It was otherwise with another gesture charged with much deeper human significance.

From the cleric to whom he had just confided an ecclesiastical office, the local potentate or the sovereign expected in return an unwavering loyalty. Now, since the formation of Carolingian vassalage, no engagement of this nature—at least among the upper classes—was considered really binding unless it was contracted according to the forms developed by the Frankish practice of commendation. The kings and the princes were therefore accustomed to require from the bishops or abbots nominated by them an act of homage; and the lords of villages sometimes required the same of their parish priests. But homage, in the strict sense, was a rite of subjection; and a much respected rite, moreover. By its means the subordination of the representatives of the spiritual power to the lay power was not only strikingly displayed; it was also reinforced, inasmuch as the combination of the two formal acts—homage and investiture—fostered a dangerous assimilation of the office of the prelate to the fief of the vassal. . . .

B. The Role of the Church in Feudal Society

Feudal society was organized on a footing of permanent war; when external enemies were lacking the military class fought among itself and preyed upon the

rest of society. The history of the period is marked by violence and disorder, yet the Church managed to preserve itself and exert its influence upon the society around it. In doing so the Church acted both as mediator between God and man and as feudal landholder. The documents in this section illustrate the position of the Church and the clergy in relation to laymen.

The first selection is taken from the fifteenth-century mystery play, The Summoning of Everyman, *written by an anonymous clergyman. In it, Everyman, told that he will die soon, consults with his friends as to how he may best prepare himself. The second selection comes from the thirteenth-century* Dialogue of Miracles *by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian monk. The third selection consists of three documents from the records of Chichester cathedral in England.*

—How did sacraments contribute to the power of the clergy?
—Why did laymen give property to the Church?
—What was the significance of Bishop Barlow's marginal note?
—What does the account of Adam de Twaincherech indicate about the problems of the Church as a feudal landholder?

1. EVERYMAN FACES DEATH (2)

FIVE WITS. Yea, Everyman, hie you that ye ready were:
There is no emperor, king, duke, ne baron,
That of God hath commission,
As hath the least priest in the world being;
For of the blessed sacraments pure and benign
He beareth the keys, and thereof hath cure
For man's redemption, it is ever sure,
Which God for our soul's medicine
Gave us out of his heart with great pain,
Here in this transitory life for thee and me:
The blessed sacraments seven there be,
Baptism, confirmation, with priesthood good,
And the sacrament of God's precious flesh and blood,
Marriage, the holy extreme unction, and penance;
These seven be good to have in remembrance,
Gracious sacraments of high divinity.
EVERYMAN. Fain would I receive that holy body,
And meekly to my ghostly father I will go.
FIVE WITS. Everyman, that is the best that ye can do;
God will you to salvation bring,
For good priesthood exceedeth all other thing;
To us holy scripture they do teach,
And converteth man fro[m] sin heaven to reach;
God hath to them more power given
Than to any angel that is in heaven:

With five words he may consecrate
God's body in flesh and blood to take,
And handleth his Maker between his hands,
The priest bindeth and unbindeth all bands
Both in earth and in heaven;
He ministers all the sacraments seven:
Though we kiss thy feet, thou wert worthy:
Thou art the surgeon that cureth sin deadly,
No remedy may we find under God,
But all only priesthood.
Everyman, God gave priest[s] that dignity,
And setteth them in His stead among us to be;
Thus be they above angels in degree. . . .

2. A MONK DESCRIBES THE POTENCY OF THE SACRAMENT (3)

I think it is less than two years now since a certain priest who doubted of the Sacrament of Christ's Body celebrated mass in the town of Wildenburg. As he was reciting the canon of the mass, with some hesitation concerning so marvellous a conversion of bread into Christ's Body, the Lord showed him raw flesh in the host. This was seen also by Widekind, a noble standing behind his back, who drew the priest aside after mass and enquired diligently what he had done or thought during the canon; he, therefore, terrified both by the vision and by the question, confessed and denied not how at that hour he had doubted of the sacrament. And each told the other how he had seen raw flesh in the host. This same Widekind had to wife the daughter of Siegfried of Runkel, a niece of the abbess of Rheindorf, who told me this vision last year. Wouldst thou also know what the Lord shows to priests of evil life, for that He is crucified by them? . . . A certain lecherous priest wooed a woman; and, unable to obtain her consent, he kept the most pure Body of the Lord in his mouth after mass, hoping that, if he thus kissed her, her will would be bent to his desire by the force of the Sacrament. But the Lord, (who complaineth through the mouth of the Prophet Zacharias, saying: "You crucify me daily, even the whole nation of you") thus hindered his evil doing. When he would fain have gone forth from the church door, he seemed to himself to grow so huge that he struck his head against the ceiling of the sacred building. The wretched man was so startled that he drew the host from his mouth, and buried it, not knowing what he did, in a corner of the church. But, fearing the swift vengeance of God, he confessed the sacrilege to a priest his familiar friend. So they went together to the place and threw back the dust, where they found not the appearance of bread, but the shape, though small, of a man hanging on the cross, fleshy and blood-stained. What was afterwards done with it, or what the priest did, I

forget, for it is long since this was told me by Hermann our Cantor, to whom the story was fairly well-known. . . .

3. THE CHURCH AND LAND (4)

I. I, William, Earl of Chichester, have given to Holy Trinity, Chichester, all my right in the quarter of the city wherein are the church and the houses of the Bishop and Canons, both in men and lands, with [other rights] in perpetual allod,* from the Southgate as the street of the city goes to the Westgate. I have sealed this for the salvation of King Stephen, for the remission of my sins and for recompense for the wrongs which I did to the same church. My grant is confirmed by Queen Aelis my wife and by William my son and heir. We have made this gift on the altar of the same church, Candlemas, A.D. 1147, with a silver-gilt cup which shall ever remain in the church to keep the Host in. . . .

II. I, Henry Hose, for the salvation of Earl William and Queen Adelid his wife, who gave me the land of Hertinges, and, for my own, have given to the Canons of Chichester the garden within the wall of Chichester next to the east gate in which Richard the priest built his house. [*c.* 1138]

(*Marginal note in Bishop Barlow's hand:* He gives land for his salvation, and redeemed his kin with his land but Christ [redeemed them] with his blood. A body of learned men accepts the land on this condition, approving blasphemy and making no charge of heresy.)

III. I, Adam de Twaincherech, notify:—Ralph fitz Sauaric formerly gave my grandfather W[illiam] de Twainch[erech] † with his land in Chichester and a hide [a unit of land] at Liministr' to the altar of Holy Trinity, Chichester, to provide a taper to burn always before the altar; my father, H[enry] de Twainch[erech], made alienations ‡ from the land of the hide to the prejudice of the church of Chichester, and later by charter and oath bound himself to make no more, with proviso that if he did the land should be forfeited. Some land was recovered by the Dean and Chapter,§ both in my father's lifetime and after his death; and the Dean and Chapter granted the remainder to me and my heirs by the service of the said candle together with a commuted rent for the building and site in Chichester, alienation without their consent being forbidden; in default of my heirs the land shall revert to the church of Chichester. I swear that I will observe this under the penalties contained in my father's charter. . . . [*c.* 1238]

* [Allod signifies a condition free from feudal obligations.]

† [William was Ralph's vassal.]

‡ [Henry was the church's vassal; he could not give or sell his fief without the lord's permission.]

§ [These were the clergy who served the cathedral church.]

C. The Feudal Clergy

In the Middle Ages the feudal relationships which linked laymen in secular society had a parallel among the clergy. The benefice, or tenure in an ecclesiastical office, was the equivalent of a fief. Alongside the ancient hierarchy of spiritual offices, which for example distinguished bishops from priests on the basis of their religious functions, there grew up within the Church a new "feudal" hierarchy based on personal and property relationships.

Many parish churches were built through the donation of land by a local manorial lord. The practice of patronage arose, whereby such a lord would choose the parish priest. The patron presented his nominee to the local bishop, who could refuse to install him only on the grounds of gross ignorance or immorality, but even these standards were often disregarded. Patronage came to be regarded as a property right, and as such it could be inherited, sold, or given away. A benefice was normally granted for life and supported the priest with an income in return for the spiritual services which his office provided for the community. Frequently the holder of a benefice, known as the rector, would appoint a vicar (from the Latin, meaning "substitute"): the vicar actually performed the spiritual services of a parish priest while the rector received much of the income. Rectors could thus act like absentee landlords; rectorates, moreover, could be held by corporations, such as monasteries, as well as individuals.

Some "feudal" relationships among the clergy are revealed by the items in this section. The first selection consists of four documents which illustrate the ways in which the parish clergy were appointed. The second selection is from The Priest's Manual, *a manuscript written c. 1400 by John Mirk, a member of the Augustinian order of canons.*

—How close are the similarities between lord, vassal, and fief and their ecclesiastical counterparts? How do they differ?
—For what reasons were individuals chosen for ecclesiastical office?
—How did the system of appointment affect the quality of the clergy?

1. RECRUITMENT OF THE CLERGY (5)

I. On 3 Id. April, A.D. 1300 Sir Luke de Vyenn, knight, presented to William de Grenefeld, Dean, and the Chapter of Chichester, John de Vyenn, his son, to the church or chapel of Codelawe, then void. The Dean and Chapter with Sir Luke then presented John to Bishop Gilbert [de St. Leofard] to the said church or chapel.

II. I, Richard de Kahaign[es], for my soul and at the request of Richard [of Ilchester] Bishop of Winchester, have given to Holy Trinity, Chichester, the rights of the lord of the fee [i.e. patronage] in the church of Selmeston with

its chapels, lands, and tithes, for a perpetual prebend; * and I have handed it over to . . . John [Greenford], Bishop of Chichester, to be conferred by him on any ecclesiastic. I have made this grant with the assent of Osmund, my son and heir. . . . [*c.* 1174–1180]

III. I, Nicholas Crass, Rector of Hethfeld, with the assent of the Dean and Chapter, grant to Rogo the chaplain, a literate, the perpetual vicarage of my church of Hethfeld. . . . From the glebe † he shall have as a site for his manse the whole of Nordfeld. I reserve to myself and my successors all the rest of the glebe with houses, gardens, corn [grain], and tenants of the church, also an issue towards the common pasture on the hills eastward by the bridge over the stream which runs south below my . . . garden. I have given him 7 marks to build his manse with. . . . [*c.* 1236]

IV. Simon Northew, Canon of Chichester and Vicar-General in spirituals of John [Rickingale], Bishop of Chichester, to . . . John Langport, chaplain. I admit and institute you to the perpetual Vicarage of Climping, void by the death of the last incumbent, on the Bishop's nomination and at the presentation of Joan, Queen of England, patroness. . . . Sealed with the seal of my office. Chichester, 28 Feb. 1426.

2. THE GOOD PRIEST AND THE WORLDLY PRIEST, *c.* 1400 (6)

(*The good priest*) The priest of God, whose soul is in his hands always, knows that he is hired to celebrate every day . . . therefore he disposes himself to live soberly as to himself, justly as to the master he serves and piously towards God. . . . The priest also lived justly, when he renders to each man what is his due. To his master indeed he renders what is his due, when in return for the salary which he receives from him, he pays back spiritual commodities; not only by celebrating everyday for him one single Mass, but also in other spiritual services, as for instance the seven penitential psalms, the fifteen gradual psalms, devout litanies, offices of the dead, and other like spiritual things.

(*The worldly priest*) Him we call the worldly priest, who loves the world . . . [his aims are worldly, to be well fed, well clothed, to lead an easy life]. . . . Therefore to gain these things, they give themselves over to the world, that is they offer themselves to a certain worldly magnate, the patron of churches, to serve him, hoping to receive a church from him. Thus the world's priest works, through right and wrong, to the end that he may be wedded to the world and be bound to its service. On taking office, he goes to the altar, not when devotion invites him, but when his lord insinuates; not out of devotion,

* [The prebend was a stipend for a canon or member of a chapter.]

† [The glebe was the arable land belonging to the parish church.]

This mosaic showing St. Peter investing Pope Leo III with the pallium (spiritual authority) and Charlemagne with a banner (temporal authority) was installed in the papal palace in Rome in the ninth century. What does it imply about the relationship of pope and emperor?

but from habit; thinking nothing of Christ's Passion, but only thinking how to prolong or shorten the Mass according to the will of his lord. . . . This man with sighs and groans tries to please his auditors, that without deserving it, he may get a name for himself for holiness. Wherefore he often bends the knee, raises his hands to heaven, beats his breast, utters groans; clearly he is acting like a madman, for this devotion does not proceed from the heart but from the mouth. . . . Nor does this priest only strive to please his lord whom he serves, but also the whole household, so that at the opportune time, that is, when any church falls vacant, of which his lord is patron, they also may put in a good word for him to the lord. . . . Then on receiving the presentation to the church, he hastens to the bishop, taking with him Master Symon,* because he is potent in work and word with the bishop and all his servants. And this Master Symon so speeds and expedites his business, that all impediments put on one side, he is at once admitted, and the business being done, he returns in haste rejoicing and cheerful. When he enters upon his church he carefully inquires, not about the burden of souls, but about the value of the church, for he thinks more about the number of marks [a denomination of money] than about the salvation of souls.

D. Tithes and the Feudal Church

The medieval Church possessed land of its own, from which it derived income like any secular landholder: by farming arable land in its demesne, by collecting various payments from its serfs, and by leasing land to tenants. The Church differed from other landholders in that it received tithes in addition to this income. In their simplest form tithes were a payment of 10 per cent of nature's produce to the parish priest; in this way the community could support the spiritual services which it received by returning to the Church part of God's bounty. The system of rectors and vicars complicated the procedure, for it meant that much of the income of a parish was collected by an absentee who performed no function for the community. Rectors usually received the great tithes, the tenth of grain crops, hay, and wood. Vicars received the small tithes, the tenth of fruit, the offspring of animals, animal products such as wool and cheese, and so forth. It was easier for absentee rectors to collect the great tithes: vicars had to keep counting everyone's chickens to assure themselves of full payment. In farming areas great tithes were usually more profitable than small tithes, but in sheep-raising areas rectors often took the small tithe of lambs and wool.

The first selection, dated 1405, is a letter concerning a dispute between a rector and vicar over their share of tithes. It gives details for the income of the parish church of Pevense, Sussex, and the two chapels which were dependencies of the parish church. The benefice of Pevense was held by the absentee rector, who happened to be the chancellor of Chichester cathedral, the bishop's chief official. The parish church of Pevense was served by a vicar and the two chapels by chap-

* [This is a play on words referring to simony, the purchase or sale of church offices.]

lains; all were appointed by the rector. The second selection contains two charters from Chichester concerning appropriation of tithes. This was the practice of permanently assigning to a monastery or other spiritual corporation the tithes of a parish church (when tithes were paid to laymen, the term used was "impropriation"). Most commonly the tithes of a parish were appropriated (or impropriated) by the person or corporation who held the right of patronage in that parish.

—Roughly in what proportions were the revenues of Pevense divided between rector, vicar, and chaplains? How is this significant?
—What benefits would appropriation produce within the Church? What harmful effects?

1. CLERICAL INCOME (7)

John de Depyng to Bishop Robert [Rede]. I lately received your mandate . . . concerning a dispute between William Reede, Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, holding as such the rectory of Pevense with the chapels of Mankeseye and Horsey, and the Vicar of Pevense, about the Vicar's share of the church, the collection of certain dues of the church and chapels, and the charges on them; this ordered us to enquire and ascertain what are the fruits of the church and chapels and their true value, what is the cure [of souls] and how great, what are the charges on the church and chapels, what is the Vicar's share in the church, and what are the charges on the vicarage, and to report to you; it was dated Duryngwik, 3 March 1404[–5]. . . .

We made enquiry from the parties interested, who say that the fruits of the church and chapels are worth in common years, corn £12–10s, hay £2*. Previous to a composition made between Mr. Walter Medford, [the former] Chancellor, and Sir Richard Holwey, Vicar, the Chancellor [rector] took all [tithe] lambs and wool at Pevense, Mankeseye, and Horsey, worth £2–10s at Pevense, £3–5s at Mankeseye, and 10s at Horsey, and calves worth 5s at Mankeseye and 2s at Horsey.

The [rector] also had the 60 acres of arable [land] at Mankesey which John Colbrond now holds, which were worth £3; this land was granted to the [rector] on condition of his finding a chaplain to serve Mankesey chapel; the chaplain had from the parishioners there all the small tithes, of geese, piglings, flax, hemp, and the oblations†, also the tithe sheaves from single gardens to the value of 1s–8d; he had from the lands now occupied by Thomas atte Beche, John Colbrond, and Thomas Colbrond 10s. The [rector] used to find a chaplain at Horsey, who likewise received all small tithes and oblations and sheaves from gardens to the value of 10s; he also had from certain lands next to the chapel 6s. . . .

* [The sums of money in the original document have been converted from various denominations into pounds, shillings, and pence.]

† [Oblations were gifts for the clergy and for charity, presented by parishioners at mass.]

The Vicar of Pevense then had from the [rector] a pension of £4, his clothing, and all small tithes and the oblations from the parishioners, worth 20s yearly, from the Vicar of Westham 13s–4d, and from lands at Welingdon now held and detained by the Prior of Lewes, 10d. . . . The cure of the church and chapels is large and burdensome, for they are a mile and more apart, and the parishioners of the chapels have no easy access to the church in winter owing to dangerous roads and floods. Sealed at [blank] 27 Jan. 1405.

2. APPROPRIATION OF TITHES (8)

I. William [de Lynn], Bishop of Chichester, to all. The abbot and Convent of Stanlee, of the Cistercian order, Salisbury diocese, complain of the barrenness of the fields which were cultivated before the two plagues, due to shortage of serfs, floods, ill times, and the rage of the wind, and say that they are in debt. They ask leave to appropriate the rectory of Rye, worth hardly more than £40 [presently paid to the rector], of which they are patrons. After discussion with the Dean and Chapter I grant this . . . saving to the Vicar perpetual to be a sufficient portion, to be ordained by myself or my successor. . . . [14 June 1363]

II. I, [Bishop Richard de Wych], with the consent of Geoffrey [de Glovernia], Dean, and Chapter, ordain: the church of Alsiston, with that of Lulington which is a member of it, shall, on the cession or death of the present Rector, be granted to the church of Chichester to supplement the common fund, owing to the smallness of which few Canons are ready to serve the church in person. Saving the vicarage . . . to be conferred by myself and successors. . . . [*c.* 1250]

E. Clerical Reform

The quality of the clergy was often the subject of criticism in the Middle Ages. Much of this criticism stemmed from anticlerical laymen or from preachers who had an axe to grind. The documents in this section can form the basis for a balanced judgment about the shortcomings of the medieval clergy. The first selection is taken from a set of articles of inquiry sent to the English bishops in 1253. The second is from a statement delivered to a church council in 1274 by Humbert de Romans, Minister General of the Dominicans, and prepared at the Pope's request.

—What kinds of abuses were committed by the medieval clergy?
—What explains these abuses? Did they reflect flaws in institutions as well as individuals?
—What could be done to correct the situation?

1. ARTICLES OF INQUIRY, 1253 (9)

8. Whether rents assigned to . . . specified uses of the church are converted to the use of the rector or vicar.

16. Whether any layman or other of whatever condition have died intestate, or without partaking of the sacraments, by the negligence of the priest or rector.

22. In what way lay servants and representatives of parsons, abbots, priors, prioresses, and other parsons and religious persons, behave in their . . . possessions.

23. Let diligent inquiry be made concerning the taxation of every church, and how much the rector of every church has given to the subsidy of the Lord Pope.

24. Whether any rectors or vicars or priests are very illiterate.

25. Whether the sacrament of the Eucharist is everywhere carried to the sick with due reverence, and is kept in a proper manner.

31. Whether any of the clerks in holy orders keep any woman related to him, or any concerning whom evil suspicions may arise.

32. Whether any are drunken, frequenters of taverns, or traders, or usurers, or fighters or wrestlers, or notorious for any vice.

33. Whether any are farmers, giving and receiving churches or vicarages to farm without the licence of the bishop.

34. Whether any are high sheriffs or secular judges, or hold stewardships for laymen, for which office they are obliged to give account.

36. Whether any is guilty of simony, either in regard to ordination or preferment.

37. Whether any parish priest has not sufficient maintenance from the rector.

39. Whether any carry weapons, or have not the tonsure, and fitting habit.

40. Whether any one has more than one cure of souls [office of parish priest] without dispensation.

41. Whether any rector or vicar is the son of the last incumbent.

42. Whether any priest extorts money for penance or other sacraments, or enjoins lucrative penances.

43. Whether deacons hear confessions or minister other sacraments committed to priests only.

44. Whether any rector or vicar does not reside on his benefice.

45. Whether any church has not clerks [clerics] or [even] one honest clerk according to the means of the church.

50. Whether the canon of the mass * is everywhere duly corrected.

53. Whether any religious have appropriated to themselves any tithes, or

* [The canon of the mass was a consecratory prayer recited silently by the officiating priest.]

churches, or such like, or any additional pension or portion has
religious, without the consent of the bishop of the place.

56. Whether any act as rectors or vicars who have not b
the bishop.

2. HUMBERT DE ROMANS' PROGRAM OF REFO
1274 (10)

In the parishes, the first thing blamable seems to be that
for any good parson to take. Secondly, the rich parishes are giv
not or cannot reside. Thirdly, vicars are put in, not of the best,
est who will do the work. Fourthly, they are not given for
best, but to unworthy men, sometimes for money from hanc
promises, or for services done. Fifthly, that [clergy] of evil
rected, but are oftentimes suffered to sin freely for the sake o
some manual should be written for the instruction of the ignora
in the duties of their office, seeing that they know not the Scri
common run of the clergy, many of them are possessed with
vainglory, wastefulness, idleness, and many other evils, whic
rected for the scandal that they give to the laity. . . .

F. Monastic Ideal and Reality

Monasteries were built to enable men to withdraw from
might devote their lives to prayer and to preparation for the li
monasteries were themselves a part of feudal society; monks
fluences similar to those which affected the lives of parish cl
illustrates the conflict between spiritual and secular concerns in
ticism by comparing the biography of a monk to the ideal
founder of Western monasticism.

The first selection is taken from the Benedictine Rule,
drawn up c. 530 by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 550), wi
Cassino and other monasteries in Italy. His Rule remained the
life almost everywhere in the West until the Cistercian and o
orders began in the tenth century and thereafter. The seco
Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk at the Benedictine monastery of
in England; he kept a chronicle of events at the monastery in
the chronicle deals with the activity of Samson de Tottingham
was the abbot from 1182 to 1212.

—Compare the qualities that St. Benedict expected in an abbo
by the monks of St. Edmundsbury.
—Why was Samson considered a better abbot than Hugh?
—To what extent was the monastery affected by "feudalizatio

churches, or such like, or any additional pension or portion has been given to a religious, without the consent of the bishop of the place.

56. Whether any act as rectors or vicars who have not been instituted by the bishop.

2. HUMBERT DE ROMANS' PROGRAM OF REFORM, 1274 (10)

In the parishes, the first thing blamable seems to be that some are too poor for any good parson to take. Secondly, the rich parishes are given to such as will not or cannot reside. Thirdly, vicars are put in, not of the best, but of the cheapest who will do the work. Fourthly, they are not given for God's sake to the best, but to unworthy men, sometimes for money from hand to hand, or for promises, or for services done. Fifthly, that [clergy] of evil fame are not corrected, but are oftentimes suffered to sin freely for the sake of bribes. Sixthly, some manual should be written for the instruction of the ignorant and unlearned in the duties of their office, seeing that they know not the Scriptures. As to the common run of the clergy, many of them are possessed with gluttony, lechery, vainglory, wastefulness, idleness, and many other evils, which should be corrected for the scandal that they give to the laity. . . .

F. Monastic Ideal and Reality

Monasteries were built to enable men to withdraw from society, that they might devote their lives to prayer and to preparation for the life after death. Yet monasteries were themselves a part of feudal society; monks were subject to influences similar to those which affected the lives of parish clergy. This section illustrates the conflict between spiritual and secular concerns in medieval monasticism by comparing the biography of a monk to the ideal envisioned by the founder of Western monasticism.

The first selection is taken from the Benedictine Rule, a set of principles drawn up c. 530 by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 550), who founded Monte Cassino and other monasteries in Italy. His Rule remained the basis of monastic life almost everywhere in the West until the Cistercian and other new monastic orders began in the tenth century and thereafter. The second selection is by Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk at the Benedictine monastery of St. Edmundsbury in England; he kept a chronicle of events at the monastery in his time. Much of the chronicle deals with the activity of Samson de Tottingham (1135–1212), who was the abbot from 1182 to 1212.

—Compare the qualities that St. Benedict expected in an abbot with those desired by the monks of St. Edmundsbury.
—Why was Samson considered a better abbot than Hugh?
—To what extent was the monastery affected by "feudalization"?

1. THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT, *c.* 530 (11)

An abbot who is worthy to rule a monastery should always remember what he is called and realize in his actions the name of a superior. For he is believed to be the representative of Christ in the monastery. . . .

The abbot . . . should know that to whom more is committed, from him more is required. Let him realize also how difficult and arduous a task he has undertaken, of ruling souls and adapting himself to so many dispositions. . . .

Above all let him not have greater solicitude for fleeting, earthly, and perishable things, and so overlook or undervalue the salvation of the souls committed to him; but let him always remember that he has undertaken the government of souls and will have to give . . . the Lord an account of all these souls on the Day of Judgement, and certainly of his own soul also. . . .

In the appointment of the abbot let this rule always be observed, that he be made abbot who is chosen unanimously in the fear of God by the whole community, or even by a minority, however small, if its counsel be more wholesome. Let him who is to be appointed be chosen for the merit of his life and his enlightened wisdom, even though he be the last in order of the community. . . .

Let the abbot when appointed consider always what an office he has undertaken and to whom he must render an account of his stewardship; and let him know that it is his duty rather to profit his brethren than to preside over them. It behoves him, therefore, to be learned in the divine law, so that he may have a treasure of knowledge whence he may bring forth things new and old; and to be chaste, sober, and merciful. . . . Let him hate ill-doing but love the brethren. . . . And let him study rather to be loved than feared. . . . And, especially, let him keep this present Rule in all things; so that having ministered faithfully he may hear from the Lord what the good servant heard who gave his fellow-servants wheat in due season: *Amen, I say unto you, he will set him over all his goods.* [Matt. xxiv. 47.]

2. THE CHRONICLE OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND, 1173–1190 (12)

HOW ABBOT HUGH RULED THE CHURCH OF ST. EDMUND

In those days Abbot Hugh grew old, and his eyes were dim. He was a good and kindly man, a godfearing and pious monk, but in temporal matters he was unskilful and improvident. . . . It is true that discipline and the service of God, and all that pertained to the rule, flourished greatly within the cloister, but without the walls all things were mismanaged. For every man, seeing that he served a simple and ageing lord, did not that which was right, but that which was pleasing in his own eyes. The townships and all the hundreds of the abbot were given to farm; the woods were destroyed, and the houses on the manors

were on the verge of ruin; from day to day all things grew worse. The abbot's sole resource and means of relief was in borrowing money, that so it might at least be possible to maintain the dignity of his house. For eight years before his death, there was never an Easter or Michaelmas which did not see at least one or two hundred pounds added to the debt. The bonds were ever renewed, and the growing interest was converted into principal.

HOW THE MONKS DISPUTED AMONG THEMSELVES WHICH OF THEM SHOULD BE ABBOT

The abbacy being vacant, we often, as was right, made supplication unto the Lord and to the blessed martyr Edmund that they would give us and our church a fit pastor. Three times in each week, after leaving the chapter, did we prostrate ourselves in the choir and sing seven penitential psalms. And there were some who would not have been so earnest in their prayers if they had known who was to become abbot. As to the choice of an abbot, if the king should grant us free election, there was much difference of opinion, some of it openly expressed, some of it privately; and every man had his own ideas.

One said of a certain brother, "He, that brother, is a good monk, a likely person. He knows much of the rule and of the customs of the church. It is true that he is not so profoundly wise as are some others, but he is quite capable of being abbot. Abbot Ordling was illiterate, and yet he was a good abbot and ruled this house wisely. . . ." Another answered, "How could this thing be? How could one who does not know letters preach in the chapter, or to the people on feast days? How could one who does not know the scriptures have the knowledge of binding and loosing? . . . God forbid that a dumb idol be set up in the church of Saint Edmund, where many men are to be found who are learned and industrious. . . ."

And again, one said of one, "That brother is a good husbandman; this is proved by the state of his office, and from the posts in which he has served well, and from the buildings and repairs which he has effected. He is well able to work and to defend the house, and he is something of a scholar, though too much learning has not made him mad. He is worthy of the abbacy." Another answered, "God forbid that a man who is dishonest and unjust, and who evil entreats [deals harshly with] the poor men, should be made abbot."

And again, one said of his friend, "That man is almost wiser than all of us, and that both in secular and in ecclesiastical matters. He is a man skilled in counsel, strict in the rule, learned and eloquent, and noble in stature; such a prelate would become our church." Another answered, "That would be true, if he were a man of good and approved repute. But his character has been questioned, perhaps falsely, perhaps rightly. And though the man is wise, humble in the chapter, devoted to the singing of psalms, strict in his conduct in the cloister while he is a cloistered monk, this is only from force of habit. For if he have authority in any office, he is too scornful, holding monks of no account, and being on familiar terms with secular men, and if he be angry, he will scarce say a word willingly to any brother, even in answer to a question." . . .

And I heard, forsooth, that one man who was industrious, learned, and pre-eminent for his high birth, was abused by some of the older men because he was a novice. The novices said of their elders that they were invalid old men, and little capable of ruling an abbey. And so many men said many things, and every man was fully persuaded in his own mind.

[After a complicated procedure, brother Samson, the subsacristan who took care of the objects used in divine worship, was elected abbot with the approval of the king.]

CONCERNING THE APPEARANCE AND PRIVATE CHARACTER OF THE ABBOT

Abbot Samson was below the average height, almost bald; his face was neither round nor oblong; his nose was prominent and his lips thick; his eyes were clear and his glance penetrating; his hearing was excellent; his eyebrows arched, and frequently shaved; and a little cold soon made him hoarse. On the day of his election he was forty-seven, and had been a monk for seventeen years. In his ruddy beard there were a few grey hairs, and still fewer in his black and curling hair. But in the course of the first fourteen years after his election all his hair became white as snow.

He was an exceedingly temperate man; he possessed great energy and a strong constitution, and was fond both of riding and walking, until old age prevailed upon him and moderated his ardour in these respects. When he heard the news of the capture of the cross and the fall of Jerusalem [to Saladin in 1187], he began to wear under garments made of horse hair, and a horse-hair shirt, and gave up the use of flesh and meat. . . .

He hated liars, drunkards, and talkative persons; for virtue ever loves itself and spurns that which is contrary to it. He blamed those who grumbled, and personally kept to the same manners which he had observed when he was a cloistered monk. . . .

The abbot further appeared to prefer the active to the contemplative life, and praised good officials more than good monks. He rarely commended anyone solely on account of his knowledge of letters, unless the man happened to have knowledge of secular affairs, and if he chanced to hear of any prelate who had given up his pastoral work and become a hermit, he did not praise him for this. He would not praise men who were too kindly, saying, "He who strives to please all men, deserves to please none."

HOW THE ABBOT DEALT WITH THE LANDS OF HIS HOUSE

When homage had been received, the abbot demanded an aid from the knights, and they promised twenty shillings from each fee of a knight. But they at once took counsel, and reduced the aid by twelve pounds from twelve knights, alleging that these twelve ought to assist the other forty to keep ward, and to make scutages, and also in assisting the abbey. When the abbot heard this, he was wroth, and said to his friends that should his life be spared, he would repay them like for like, injury for injury.

After this, the abbot caused inquest to be made in every manor belonging to the abbacy as to the annual revenues of the free men, and the names of the villeins, and their holdings, and the services due from each, and caused all these details to be written down. . . .

By his command, a general account was drawn up for every hundred [division of county] of the leets [local courts] and suits, of the hidages [land taxes] and customary supplies of fodder, of the hens which ought to be paid to him, and of all the other customary dues, revenues, and expenses, which the tenants had always concealed to a great extent. All these things he reduced to writing, so that within four years of his election, no one could deceive him as to the resources of the abbey even to a penny's value, whereas he had received nothing in writing from his predecessors concerning the management of the abbey, except a little schedule containing the names of the knights of St. Edmund and the names of the manors, and the rent which attached to each farm. Now he called this book of his his Calendar, in which also were written down all the debts which he had paid. And he consulted this book almost daily, as if in it he saw the image of his probity as in a glass.

HOW THE ABBOT CONTENDED WITH HIS KNIGHTS AS TO SERVICE ACROSS THE SEA

King Richard ["the Lionhearted," 1189–1199] sent orders to all the bishops and abbots of England that every nine knights should furnish a tenth, and that these should come to him in Normandy without delay, with horses and arms, to help him against the king of France. It therefore was necessary for the abbot to be responsible for the sending of four knights. And when he had caused all his knights to be summoned, and had gathered them together on this matter, they answered that their fees, which they held of St. Edmund, were not liable to this, and that neither they, nor their fathers, had ever gone out of England, though they had sometimes paid scutage by command of the king.

Then the abbot was in a difficult position, as on the one hand he saw that the liberty of his knights was endangered, and on the other feared lest he might lose seisin [legal possession] of his barony for default of service to the king, as had happened to the bishop of London and to many barons of England. And he at once crossed the sea, and having wearied himself with many labours and expenses and with the many presents which he gave to the king, at first he was unable to come to terms with the king by means of a money payment. And so, when the king said that he needed neither gold nor silver, but instantly demanded the four knights, the abbot offered him four mercenary knights. And the king received these and sent them to the castle of Eu. And the abbot gave them thirty-six marks at once for their expenses for forty days.

Questions For Thought

In what ways have organized religions adapted themselves to social conditions in our own time? Has this process involved an adjustment of the traditional values and teachings of these religions?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), pp. 345–50.
(2) J. S. Farmer, ed., *Six Anonymous Plays,* First Series (London, 1905), pp. 115–16.
(3) G. G. Coulton, ed., *Life in the Middle Ages,* 2nd. ed. (Cambridge, 1928), I, 70–71.
(4) W. D. Peckham, ed., *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester;* Sussex Record Society, XLVI (Lewes, 1943), 23, 84–85.
(5) *Ibid.,* 84, 182, 358, 361.
(6) W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 215–16. Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.
(7) Peckham, *op. cit.,* pp. 363–64.
(8) Peckham, *op. cit.,* pp. 60, 292.
(9) E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England* (London, 1898), pp. 281–84.
(10) Coulton, *op. cit.,* I, 200.
(11) Abbot Justin McCann, ed., *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (Westminster, 1952), pp. 17–23, 145–49. Reprinted by permission of the Newman Press.
(12) L. C. Jane, ed., *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, Monk of St. Edmundsbury* (London, 1907), pp. 1–2, 16–20, 43–46, 62–64, 134–35.

PART II

Papacy and Empire in the Early Middle Ages

"Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mark 12:17). As long as Christians remained a minority sect within the Roman Empire, this maxim could lead to persecution and martyrdom, for the emperor expected to receive expressions of loyalty in the form of religious sacrifice. Nevertheless it remained for Christians a clear-cut solution for the problem of the relationship between church and state until the conversion of the emperors to Christianity and the papacy's rise to prominence set the problem in a new context.

The Emperor Constantine became a Christian in the early fourth century. After the brief pagan interlude of the reign of Julian ("the apostate"), successive emperors took steps to make Christianity the official state religion and to outlaw the pagan cults. Roman emperors traditionally had exercised great authority in religious affairs, and the adoption of Christianity did not change their attitude in this respect. Constantine summoned the Council of Nicaea in 325 in an attempt to settle the Arian heresy that was dividing the Christian church of the day. Theodosius decreed in 380 that all who refused to accept the Athana-

sian view of the Trinity would be "smitten first with the divine punishment and after that by the vengeance of our indignation, which has the divine approval." These emperors took upon themselves the responsibility of enforcing Christian orthodoxy, for as yet no centralized authority existed within the Church beyond what they could furnish. In these early years the so-called doctrine of caesaropapism, whereby the emperors claimed supreme authority in the affairs of both church and state, was developed.

The leadership of the early Church was originally held by an elected bishop in each community. Bishops of larger cities enjoyed greater prestige and influence than those of smaller cities, although the authority of all was theoretically equal. The establishment of Christianity as the Roman state religion was followed by the reorganization of episcopal sees to correspond with the boundaries of the imperial provinces. The emperors began to delegate certain responsibilities of civil administration to the bishops, but also to interfere in their election. The title of metropolitan bishop (or archbishop) was given to bishops in the largest cities. The title of patriarch was assumed by the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, who claimed direct succession from a founding apostle; in 381 it was given to the bishop of Constantinople, the city founded by Constantine in 330. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria claimed the additional title of pope. Derived from the Greek for "father," it was originally applied to all bishops and in the West was not restricted to the Bishop of Rome until the sixth century. Early Church councils granted special privileges and authority to the patriarchs, but those of Rome and Constantinople, the two capitals of the Empire, obtained more power from the emperors.

As time went on, the continued presence of strong emperors in the eastern half of the Empire limited the growth of the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. In the West, however, the decline of imperial power under the impact of the barbarian invasions tended to give the papacy a semi-independent status. Three decades before the Empire ceased to exist in the West, an imperial edict in 445 upheld the right of the Pope to overrule the decisions of provincial bishops. This grant, whereby the emperor in effect delegated to the Bishop of Rome sovereignty over the Church in the West, was paralleled by the claims of the popes themselves. Leo I, Pope from 440 to 461, repeatedly advanced the doctrine of Petrine supremacy, based on the biblical text that Peter was the rock upon which Christ would build his church, and that he possessed the keys to the kingdom of heaven. From this Leo argued that anything done by himself "is of [St. Peter's] work and merits whose power lives and whose authority prevails in his See."

The documents which follow deal with the history of the papacy in relation to the rulers, first of the Roman Empire, then of the "holy" Roman empire created by the papacy itself. The problem is concerned with the origins and early stages of the clash between church and state that reached a climax in the evenly matched contest between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV, in which each asserted sovereignty over the other. How did the papacy evolve to a position of power equal to that of the greatest temporal rulers? How did the

aspirations of papal policy change in each period? What circumstances affected papal or imperial ascendancy at each stage of the conflict?

A. The Papacy under the Roman Empire

In 476 the last Roman emperor in the West was driven from his throne by the German Odoacer, who in turn was defeated by the invading Ostrogoths in the 490's. Justinian, the Roman emperor in the East, reconquered Italy between 535 and 554 and reduced it to a province, the exarchate of Ravenna, whose capital was the city of Ravenna in northern Italy. Thus Rome, once the capital of the Empire, became only a duchy, a subdivision within an outlying province. But Rome was also the seat of the papacy, which exercised great authority within the Church. The following selections illustrate the position of the papacy and the Church in relation to imperial authority in this period. The first is a letter from Gelasius I, Pope from 492 to 496, to Anastasius I, the Eastern emperor. The second is a law decreed by Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565. The third is taken from a collection of form letters (c. 650) *used by secretaries at the papal court; it is addressed to the emperor at Constantinople from the clergy and laity of Rome.*

—How did Gelasius envisage the relationship between the emperor and the pope?
—How did Justinian interpret this relationship?
—What circumstances can account for this discrepancy?
—Why should imperial confirmation be considered necessary for the election of a pope?

1. POPE GELASIUS I ON THE RELATION OF PAPAL AND IMPERIAL AUTHORITY (494) (1)

I beseech your piety not to regard as arrogance duty in divine affairs. Far be it from a Roman prince, I pray, to regard as injury truth that has been intimated to him. For, indeed, there are, O Emperor Augustus, two by whom principally this world is ruled: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the royal power. Of these the importance of the priests is so much the greater, as even for kings of men they will have to give an account in the divine judgment. Know, indeed, most clement son, that although you worthily rule over the human race, yet as a man of devotion in divine matters you submit your neck to the prelates, and also from them you await the matters of your salvation, and in making use of the celestial sacraments and in administering those things you know that you ought, as is right, to be subjected to the order of religion rather than preside over it; know likewise that in regard to these things you are dependent upon their judgment and you should not bend them to your will. For if, so far as it pertains to the order of public discipline, the priests of religion, knowing that the imperial power has been bestowed upon you by divine providence, obey your laws, lest in affairs of exclusively mundane determination they might seem to

resist, with how much more gladness, I ask, does it become you to obey them who have been assigned to the duty of performing the divine mysteries. Just as there is no light risk for the pontiffs to be silent about those things which belong to the service of the divinity, so there is no small peril (which God forbid) to those who, when they ought to obey, refuse to do so. And if it is right that the hearts of the faithful be submitted to all priests generally who treat rightly divine things, how much more is obedience to be shown to the prelate of that see which the highest divinity wished to be pre-eminent over all priests and which the devotion of the whole Church continually honors?

2. EMPEROR JUSTINIAN SUPERVISES THE CLERGY (SIXTH CENTURY) (2)

We command that all bishops and presbyters shall offer the sacred oblation and the prayers in holy baptism not silently, but with a voice which may be heard by the faithful people, that thereby the minds of those listening may be moved to greater contrition and to the glory of God. For so, indeed, the holy Apostle teaches (I Cor. 14:16; Rom. 10:10). . . . Therefore it is right that to our Lord Jesus Christ, to our God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be offered prayer in the holy oblation and other prayers with the voice by the most holy bishops and the presbyters; for the holy priests should know that if they neglect any of those things they shall render an account at the terrible judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and that we shall not quietly permit such things when we know of them and will not leave them unpunished. We command, therefore, that the governors of the eparchies,* if they see anything neglected of those things which have been decreed by us, first urge the metropolitans and other bishops to celebrate the . . . synods [church councils], and do whatsoever things we have ordered by this present law concerning synods, and, if they see them delaying, let them report to us, that from us may come a proper correction of those who put off holding synods. And the governors and the officials subject to them should know that if they do not observe these matters they will be liable to the extreme penalty [*i.e.*, death]. But we confirm by this present law all things which have been decreed by us in various constitutions concerning bishops, presbyters, and other clerics, and further concerning lodging-places for strangers, poor-houses, orphan asylums and others as many as are over the sacred buildings.

3. IMPERIAL CONFIRMATION OF PAPAL ELECTIONS (*c.* 650) (3)

Although God himself has brought about such harmony and unity in the election of a successor to the pope who has just died that there is scarcely one that opposes it, it is necessary that we humbly pour out the prayers of our peti-

* [These were administrative divisions of the empire.]

tion to our most serene and pious lord who is known to rejoice in the harmony of his subjects and graciously to grant what they unite in asking. Now, when our pope (name), of blessed memory, died, we all agreed in the election of (name), venerable archdeacon of the apostolic see, because from his early youth he had served in this church and had shown himself so able in all things that on the score of his merits he deserved to be put at the head of the government of the church; especially since he was of such a character that with the help of Christ and by constant association with the aforesaid most blessed pope (name), he has attained to the same high merits with which his predecessor (name), of blessed memory, was graced; with his eloquence, he stirred within us a desire for the holy joys of heaven; so we confidently believe that what we have lost in his predecessor we have found again in him. Therefore, with tears, all your servants beg that you, our lord, may deign to grant our petition and accede to our wishes concerning the ordination of him whom we have elected, and, to the glory of the realm, authorize his ordination; that thus, after you have established him over us as our pastor, we may constantly pray for the life and government of our lord the emperor to the omnipotent Lord and to St. Peter, over whose church, with your permission, a worthy governor is now to be ordained.

B. The Pope's Struggle for Independence in Italy

In 568 the Lombards, a German tribe, invaded Italy. The papacy was now caught in the middle of a protracted struggle between the imperial and Lombard forces for mastery of the peninsula, a struggle which came to a head in the eighth century. The issues of the power struggle were partly obscured by a theological dispute between popes and emperors concerning the use of images in churches. The dispute culminated in the excommunication of all iconoclasts (literally "image-breakers") in 731. The first two selections deal with the issues and events of the pontificate of Gregory II, who was Pope from 715 to 731.

The Lombards finally captured Ravenna in 751 and brought the exarchate to an end. Rome was in immediate danger. Earlier Gregory III (Pope from 731 to 741) had appealed for help from Charles Martel, who as hereditary Mayor of the Palace was the real ruler of the neighboring Frankish kingdom, but Charles refused to desert his Lombard allies. In 751, however, Pope Zacharias (741–752) gave his sanction for Pippin, the son of Charles, to depose the figurehead king and be crowned king of the Franks. In 753 Pippin promised Pope Stephen II (752–757) what his father had refused and successfully attacked the Lombards.

Sometime before 753 papal officials had forged a document known as "The Donation of Constantine," which purported to be a grant made by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester in the fourth century; this is the final selection. In 756 a donation of Pippin, modeled after the former, "restored" Ravenna and other cities to the papacy. However, the Lombards reconquered this territory soon after Pippin left Italy.

—Does the account in the first selection seem trustworthy? What seems to have been the condition of the papacy in Italy during this period?
—Do political or theological motives seem to have been more important for Pope Gregory's break with the eastern emperors?
—What was the significance of the appearance of the Donation of Constantine at this time?

1. THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY II (EIGHTH CENTURY) (4)

At that time [*c.* A.D. 725] Narnia* was taken by the Lombards. And Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, advanced upon Ravenna with his entire army, and besieged it for some days. Taking the fortress of Classis, he bore off many captives and immense booty. After some time the duke Basilius, the chartularius Jordanes, and the subdeacon John, surnamed Lurion, conspired to kill the Pope; and Marinus, the imperial spatarius, who at that time held the government of the duchy of Rome, having been sent by the command of the Emperor to the royal city, joined their conspiracy. But they could not find an opportunity. The plot was broken up by the judgment of God, and he therefore left Rome. Later Paulus, the patrician, was sent as exarch [governor] to Italy, who planned how at length he might accomplish the crime; but their plans were disclosed to the Romans. These were so enraged that they killed Jordanes and John Lurion. Basilius, however, became a monk and ended his life hidden in a certain place. But the exarch Paulus, on the command of the Emperor, tried to kill the pontiff because he hindered the levying of a tax upon the province, intending to strip the churches of their property, as was done in other places, and to appoint another [Pope] in his place. After this another spatarius was sent with commands to remove the pontiff from his seat. Then again the patrician Paulus sent, for the accomplishment of this crime, such soldiers as he could withdraw from Ravenna, with his guard and some from the camps. But the Romans were aroused, and from all sides the Lombards gathered for the defence of the pontiff at the bridge of Solario, in the district of Spoleto, and the dukes of the Lombards, surrounding the Roman territories, prevented this crime.

In a decree afterward sent, the Emperor ordered that there no longer should be in any church an image of any saint, or martyr, or angel (for he said that all these were accursed); and if the pontiff assented he should enjoy his favor, but if he prevented the accomplishment of this also he should fall from his position. The pious man, despising therefore the profane command of the prince, armed himself against the Emperor as against an enemy, rejecting this heresy and writing everywhere to warn Christians of the impiety which had arisen.

Aroused by this, the inhabitants of the Pentapolis and the armies of Venetia resisted the command of the Emperor, saying that they would never assent

* [Narnia was a fortified city sixty-five miles north of Rome.]

to the murder of the pontiff, but on the contrary would strive manfully for his defence. They anathematized the exarch Paulus, him who had sent him, and those who sided with him, refusing to obey them; and throughout Italy all chose leaders for themselves, so eager were all concerning the pontiff and his safety. When the iniquities of the Emperor were known, all Italy started to choose for itself an emperor and conduct him to Constantinople, but the pontiff prevented this plan, hoping for the conversion of the prince.

Meanwhile, in those days, the duke Exhiliratus [governor of Naples], deceived by the instigation of the devil, with his son Adrian, occupied parts of Campania,* persuading the people to obey the Emperor and kill the pontiff. Then all the Romans pursued after him, took him, and killed both him and his son. After this they chased away the duke Peter [governor of Rome under the emperor], saying that he had written against the pontiff to the Emperor. When, therefore, a dissension arose in and about Ravenna, some consenting to the wickedness of the Emperor and some holding to the pontiff and those faithful to him, a great fight took place between them and they killed the patrician Paulus [exarch at that time]. And the cities of Castra Aemilia, Ferrorianus, Montebelli, Verabulum, with its towns, Buxo, Persiceta, the Pentapolis, and Auximanum, surrendered to the Lombards. After this the Emperor sent to Naples Eutychius Fraticius, the eunuch, who had formerly been exarch, to accomplish what the exarch Paulus, the spatarii, and the other evil counsellors had been unable to do. But by God's ordering his miserable craft was not so hidden but that his most wicked plot was disclosed to all, that he would attempt to violate the churches of Christ, to destroy all, and to take away the property of all. . . .

2. GREGORY II DEFIES THE EMPEROR (726/727) (5)

We have received the letter which you sent us by your ambassador Rufinus. We are deeply grieved that you should persist in your error, that you should refuse to recognize the things which are Christ's, and to accept the teaching and follow the example of the holy fathers, the saintly miracle-workers and learned doctors. I refer not only to foreign doctors, but also to those of your own country. . . . But you have followed the guidance of your own wayward spirit and have allowed the exigencies of the political situation at your own court to lead you astray. You say: "I am both emperor and bishop." But the emperors who were before you . . . proved themselves to be both emperors and bishops by following the true faith, by founding and fostering churches, and by displaying the same zeal for the faith as the popes. These emperors ruled righteously; they held synods in harmony with the popes, they tried to establish true doctrines, they founded and adorned churches. Those who claim to be both emperors and priests should demonstrate it by their works; you, since the beginning of your rule, have constantly failed to observe the decrees of the fathers. Wherever you found churches adorned and enriched with hangings you despoiled them. For what are our churches? Are they not made by hand of stones, timbers,

* [Campania refers here to the district around the city of Rome.]

straw, plaster, and lime? But they are also adorned with pictures and representations of the miracles of the saints, of the sufferings of Christ, of the holy mother herself, and of the saints and apostles; and men expend their wealth on such images. Moreover, men and women make use of these pictures to instruct in the faith their little children and young men and maidens in the bloom of youth and those from heathen nations; by means of these pictures the hearts and minds of men are directed to God. But you have ordered the people to abstain from the pictures, and have attempted to satisfy them with idle sermons, trivialities, music of pipe and zither, rattles and toys, turning them from the giving of thanks to the hearing of idle tales. . . . Hearken to us, emperor: abandon your present course and accept the holy church as you found her, for matters of faith and practice concern not the emperor, but the pope, since we have the mind of Christ. The making of laws for the church is one thing and the governing of the empire another; the ordinary intelligence which is used in administering worldly affairs is not adequate to the settlement of spiritual matters. . . . You persecute us and vex us tyrannically with violent and carnal hand. We, unarmed and defenseless, possessing no earthly armies, call now upon the prince of all the armies of creation, Christ seated in the heavens, commanding all the hosts of celestial beings, to send a demon upon you; as the apostle says: "To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved" [I Cor. 5:5]. . . . Knowing that we would have to render account to Christ the Lord for our office, we have done our best to convert you from your error, by admonition and warning, but you have drawn back, you have refused to obey us or Germanus or our fathers, the holy and glorious miracle-workers and doctors, and you have followed the teaching of perverse and wicked men who wander from the truth. . . . May God give you prudence and patience, that you may be turned to the truth from which you have departed; may he again restore the people to their one shepherd, Christ, and to the one fold of the orthodox churches and prelates, and may the Lord our God give peace to all the earth now and forever to all generations. Amen.

3. THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE (EIGHTH CENTURY) (6)

And the . . . venerable father [Sylvester, Bishop of Rome]* told us clearly how great power in heaven and earth our Saviour gave to His apostle, blessed Peter, when in answer to questioning He found him faithful and said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Attend, ye mighty, and incline the ear of your heart to what the good Lord and Master further gave to His disciple when He said: 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt

* [Sylvester I was Pope from 314 to 335 during most of the reign of Constantine.]

loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' [Matt. 16:18–19]. And when I [Constantine] learned these things at the mouth of blessed Silvester . . . we—together with all our satraps and the whole senate, and the magnates and all the Roman people, which is subject to the glory of our empire—considered that, since [Saint Peter] is seen to have been constituted the vicar of God's Son on earth, the pontiffs who act on behalf of that prince of the apostles should receive from us and our empire more power of government than the earthly clemency of our imperial serenity is seen to have conceded to them; for we choose the same prince of the apostles and his vicars to be our constant patrons before God. And since our imperial power is earthly, we have decreed that it shall venerate and honour his most holy Roman Church and that the sacred see of blessed Peter shall be gloriously exalted above our empire and earthly throne. We attribute to him the power and glorious dignity and strength and honour of the Empire, and we ordain and decree that he shall have rule as well over the four principal sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem; as also over all the churches of God in all the world. And the pontiff who for the time being presides over that most holy Roman Church shall be the highest and chief of all priests in the whole world, and according to his decision shall all matters be settled which shall be taken in hand for the worship of God or the confirmation of the faith of Christians. . . .

To the holy apostles, my lords the most blessed Peter and Paul, and through them also to blessed Silvester, our father, supreme pontiff and universal pope of the city of Rome, and to the pontiffs, his successors, who to the end of the world shall sit in the seat of blessed Peter, we grant and by this present we convey our imperial Lateran palace, which is superior to and excels all palaces in the whole world; and further the diadem, which is the crown of our head; and the mitre; as also the superhumeral, that is, the stole which surrounds our imperial neck; and the purple cloak and the scarlet tunic and all the imperial robes. . . .

Wherefore—that the pontifical crown should not be cheapened, but rather that the dignity of a more than earthly office and the might of its glory should be yet further adorned—lo, we convey to the oft-mentioned and most blessed pontiff, our father Silvester, universal pope, both our palace, as preferment, and likewise all provinces, places and districts of the city of Rome and Italy and of the regions of the West; and, bequeathing them to the power and sway of him and the pontiffs, his successors, we do (by means of fixed imperial decision through this our divine, sacred and authoritative sanction) determine and decree that the same be placed at his disposal, and do lawfully grant it as a permanent possession to the holy Roman Church.

Wherefore we have perceived that our empire and the power of our government should be transferred and removed to the regions of the East and that a city should be built in our name in the best place in the province of Byzantium and our empire there established; for it is not right that an earthly emperor should have authority there, where the rule of priests and the head of the Christian religion have been established by the Emperor of heaven. . . .

C. Charlemagne

Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, succeeded his father Pippin in 771. In response to a papal appeal Charlemagne attacked the Lombards, not only defeating them in battle but also destroying their independence. However, instead of giving the papacy all the territory which had been asked and promised, he made himself king of the Lombards and set his son to rule over them.

Earlier, in 754, Pope Stephen II had anointed Pippin and conferred upon him, with dubious authority, the imperial Roman title of "patrician." These acts imparted to the Frankish monarchy both a sacred and a Roman character, which are reflected in the first selection, a letter from Charlemagne to Leo III (Pope from 795 to 816). It was written to protest the Pope's publication of the decrees of the Nicene Council of 787 without his approval. When the Roman nobility attempted to overthrow Leo in 799, he fled to the protection of Charlemagne. The second selection consists of two accounts which describe the Pope's trial and the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor.

—What was the relationship between Pope and king in the time of Charlemagne?
—What motives would the Pope have for crowning Charlemagne as emperor?
—Is it more likely that Charlemagne would wish to accept or reject the title of emperor? Would there be any disadvantage to receiving the title from the Pope?

1. CHARLEMAGNE ON THE DUTIES OF THE POPE (796) (7)

Karl, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards, and patricius of the Romans, to his holiness, pope Leo, greeting. . . . Just as I entered into an agreement with the most holy father, your predecessor, so also I desire to make with you an inviolable treaty of mutual fidelity and love; that, on the one hand, you shall pray for me and give me the apostolic benediction, and that, on the other, with the aid of God I will ever defend the most holy seat of the holy Roman church. For it is our part to defend the holy church of Christ from the attacks of pagans and infidels from without, and within to enforce the acceptance of the catholic faith. It is your part, most holy father, to aid us in the good fight by raising your hands to God as Moses did [Exod. 17:11], so that by your intercession the Christian people under the leadership of God may always and everywhere have the victory over the enemies of His holy name, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified throughout the world. Abide by the canonical law in all things and obey the precepts of the holy fathers always, that your life may be an example of sanctity to all, and your holy admonitions be observed by the whole world, and that your light may so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your father which is in heaven [Matt. 5:16]. May omnipotent God preserve your holiness unharmed through many years for the exalting of his holy church.

2. THE POPE CROWNS CHARLEMAGNE EMPEROR (800) (8)

I.

THE ANNALS OF LORSCH

And in the summer he [Charles] called together his lords and nobles at the city of Mainz. When he had assured himself that peace reigned throughout all his dominions he called to mind the injury that the Romans had inflicted on Pope Leo, and setting his face toward Rome, he journeyed thither. When he had arrived there he summoned a great council of bishops and abbots, also priests, deacons, counts, and other Christian people. Those who wished to condemn the apostle himself were brought before this assembly. When the king had made investigation he was convinced that they did not want to condemn the pope with justice, but through spite. It was therefore clear to the most pious prince, Charles, and to all the bishops and holy fathers present, that, if the pope wished and should ask it, he ought to purify himself by his own will, voluntarily, and not by the judgment of the council; and this was done. When he had taken the oath, the holy bishops and all the clergy, Prince Charles and the devote Christian people began the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.* When this was entirely finished, the king and all the faithful people with him gave thanks to God, who had preserved the apostle Leo sound in body and mind. And he passed the winter in Rome.

Inasmuch as the title of *Imperator* had ceased among the Greeks at this time and the *imperium* was in the hands of a woman [Empress Irene (797–802)], it was evident to the apostle Leo and all the holy fathers who had taken part in the council, as well as to all the Christian people, that Charles, king of the Franks, ought to be called *Imperator.* For he held the city of Rome, where the Caesars had always resided, and he also ruled Italy, Gaul, and Germany likewise. Because God Almighty had placed all these countries in his power it seemed just to them that, with God favoring it and all the Christian people demanding it, he should have the title itself. King Charles was not willing to refuse this demand, but with all humility, and obedient to the Lord and the petition of the clergy and all the Christian people, on the very day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ he was consecrated by the lord pope Leo, and received the title of *Imperator.* Then, first of all he restored peace and concord to the Holy Roman Church, and he celebrated Easter at Rome. When summer approached he directed his journey to Ravenna, giving justice and restoring order. He then returned to his palace in France. . . .

II.

EINHARD: LIFE OF CHARLEMAGNE

At this time he [Charlemagne] received the titles of *Imperator* and *Augustus,* which he was so opposed to at first that he said he would never have

entered the church on that day, although it was a very important festival of the Church, if he had known the intention of the pope. Nevertheless, having accepted the title, he endured with great patience the jealousy that it caused, for the Roman emperors were very indignant. He overcame their pride by magnanimity, in which he doubtless excelled them, and by sending frequent embassies to them, and by calling them brothers in his letters. . . .

D. The Papacy under the Holy Roman Empire

This section contains three documents which illustrate the relationship between the popes and the Holy Roman emperors in the two centuries following Charlemagne's coronation. The first selection is a decree of Lothair, who became emperor in 840; it was issued in 824, when he was associated with his father in the rule of the Empire. The second is a letter from Louis II (emperor from 855 to 875) to the Eastern emperor, Basil I, in reply to the latter's charges that Louis had no right to the title of emperor. The third selection is a grant made by Leo VIII (Pope from 963 to 965) to Otto I (emperor from 936 to 973); Otto elected him and later deposed him. Investiture and consecration, mentioned here, were ceremonies which included bestowing the ring and staff of office to a newly elected prelate and receiving homage from him. These acts symbolized the conferring of temporal and spiritual authority and implied subjection to the higher authority of the person from whom they were received.

—What role did Lothair play in the affairs of the papacy?
—What gave a Holy Roman emperor legitimate authority? Did Louis' argument imply any limitations upon his authority?
—What was the significance of the Pope granting Otto rights of investiture and consecration?

1. A DECREE OF LOTHAIR (824) (9)

We wish no one (be he freeman or serf) to presume to come to the election of a Pope for the purpose of obstructing the Romans in any way, for they alone were granted in ancient times by decree of the holy fathers the customary right to elect a Pope. If anyone presumes to disobey this our order, he shall be sent into exile.

We wish representatives [*missi*] to be appointed on behalf of the Pope and ourselves to report to us annually on how every duke and judge is doing justice to the people and how well they are observing our decree. We decree that these representatives must, as soon as possible, bring to the attention of the Pope all complaints which have arisen through the negligence of dukes or judges, and he shall choose one of two alternatives: either the situation shall be corrected immediately by these representatives themselves, or our representative shall in-

form us so that it can be corrected by other representatives whom we shall send.

We wish all the people of Rome to be asked by what law they wish to live, that they may live by the law they declare they wish to live by; and an announcement shall be made to them, that everybody—dukes, judges and the rest of the people—shall know that they will be subject, at the decree of the Pope or ourselves, to the law which they choose if they contravene it.

It is our pleasure that all the judges, and those who must govern all the people, those through whom the judicial power must be exercised in this city of Rome, shall come before us: for we wish to know their names and their number and to give them instructions concerning the function which has been entrusted to them.

Finally every man shall be instructed to offer obedience and reverence to the Pope in this manner, as he wishes to enjoy the favour of God and ourselves:

I, A., promise by Almighty God and by these four holy Gospels, and by this cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the body of the most blessed Peter the Chief of the Apostles, that from this day forward I will be loyal to our lords the Emperors Louis and Lothair all the days of my life, to the best of my ability and understanding, without deceit and ill-will, reserving only the loyalty which I have promised to the Apostolic Lord; and that, to the best of my ability and understanding, I will not acquiesce in any papal election taking place other than canonically and justly; and he who is elected with my consent shall not be consecrated Pope until, in the presence of the lord Emperor's representative and the people, he has made upon oath a promise similar to the one which the lord Pope Eugenius has willingly made in writing for the preservation of all.

2. THE STATUS OF A HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR (871) (10)

You wonder that we are called emperor of the Romans instead of emperor of the Franks. But you ought to know that if we were not emperor of the Romans we could not be emperor of the Franks. For we have received this name and dignity from the Romans, whose people and city, the mother of all the churches of God, we have received, in accordance with God's will, to govern, to defend, and to exalt, and from her our family received the authority, first, to rule as kings, and, afterward, as emperors. For the rulers of the Franks were first called kings and afterward those who were anointed with holy oil by the popes to this office were called emperors. Karl the Great [Charlemagne], our grand-grandfather, having been anointed in this way, because of his great piety, was the first of our race and family to be called emperor and to be the anointed of the Lord. How much greater right have we to the imperial title, therefore, than the many who have been made emperor without any religious ceremony or holy rite being performed by a pope, being elected only by the senate and people of Rome, who had no regard for such holy rites? And some have been made emperor by even less authority, being proclaimed by the army, and others by women, and others in still other ways.

Now, if you blame the Roman bishop for what he did [in crowning

Charlemagne], you must also blame Samuel, because, after anointing Saul, he rejected him and anointed David to be king. But it will be easy to answer anyone who shall make even one complaint against the pope [for having anointed Charlemagne as emperor]. If you will search the pages of the Greek annals and see what the bishops of Rome had to endure from their enemies, and yet received no protection from you, and even what they had to endure from you and your people, you will find many things which will prevent you from blaming them. But these external matters were of little importance compared with the efforts of the Greeks to destroy the church by their many heresies. So, very properly, the bishops of Rome deserted the apostate Greeks—for what concord hath Christ with Belial? [II Cor. 6:15]—and joined a people which clung to God and brought forth the fruits of his kingdom. For "God is no respecter of persons," as the great apostle said, "but in every nation he that feareth him is accepted with him" [Acts 10:34, 35]. Therefore, since this is so, why do you make it a reproach to us who have the imperial crown that we are born of the Franks, when in every nation he that feareth God is accepted with him?

3. POPE LEO VIII'S CONCESSIONS TO OTTO I (963) (11)

In the synod held at Rome in the Church of the Holy Saviour. Following the example of blessed pope Adrian, who granted to Karl [Charlemagne], victorious king of the Franks and Lombards, the dignity of the patriciate and the right to ordain the pope and to invest bishops, we, Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, with all the clergy and people of Rome, by our apostolic authority bestow upon lord Otto I, king of the Germans, and upon his successors in the kingdom of Italy forever, the right of choosing the successor of the pope, and of ordaining the pope and the archbishops and bishops, so that they shall receive their investiture and consecration from him, with the exception of those prelates whose investiture and consecration the emperor has conceded to the pope or the archbishops. No one, no matter what his dignity or ecclesiastical rank, shall have the authority to choose the patricius or to ordain the pope or any bishop without the consent of the emperor, and that without bribery; and the emperor shall be by right both king [of Italy] and patricius [of Rome]. But if anyone has been chosen bishop by the clergy and people, he shall not be consecrated unless he has been approved by the aforesaid king and has received his investiture from him. . . .

E. The Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV

The first major collision between a Pope and emperor evenly matched in power occurred during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–1085). A former monk at Cluny, the center of an influential movement for the reform and revitalization of monasticism, Gregory carried over to the papacy a similar reform-

ing spirit. He issued decrees against various forms of abuse within the Church, among which an important target was the exploitation of the right of investiture by lay rulers. Medieval monarchs who sought to extend their power over the feudal nobility needed a large bureaucracy. In an age when there were few educated laymen and royal treasuries were usually short of cash, lay rulers were able to recruit administrators from the ranks of the clergy and pay their salaries by appointing them to high office within the Church. Such churchmen were primarily loyal to the source of their appointment and functioned as state officials rather than religious leaders. The Holy Roman Empire, in particular, had increasingly relied on their services since the days of Otto I, and Gregory's decree forbidding lay investiture quickly led to conflict with the reigning Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106). Twice during the course of the controversy Gregory declared Henry to be excommunicated and deposed; likewise Henry twice declared Gregory deposed. The issues became mixed up with the rebellion of Saxony and a revolt by part of the nobility against the emperor, so that at one point Henry was compelled to do penance before the Pope (Canossa, 1077); later Gregory was forced into exile, where he died. A compromise concerning investiture was not reached until 1122, long after both were dead. The first selection lists the various powers which Gregory claimed for the papacy. The second is a letter from Henry to Gregory in which he refused to recognize him as Pope. These readings serve to illustrate the fully developed positions from which popes and secular rulers were to challenge each other during the remainder of the medieval period.

—What kinds of arguments could Gregory use to support the theses which he advanced?

—To what extent do these points derive logically from earlier claims and events? To what extent are they new claims?

—How justified are Henry's arguments in defence of his own authority? In his attack on Gregory?

1. PAPAL RIGHTS AND PREROGATIVES (ELEVENTH CENTURY) (12)

1. That the Roman church was established by God alone.

2. That the Roman pontiff alone is rightly called universal.

3. That he alone has the power to depose and reinstate bishops.

4. That his legate, even if he be of lower ecclesiastical rank, presides over bishops in council, and has the power to give sentence of deposition against them. . . .

7. That he alone has the right, according to the necessity of the occasion, to make new laws, to create new bishoprics, to make a monastery of a chapter of canons, and *vice versa,* and either to divide a rich bishopric or to unite several poor ones.

8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.*

* [This refers to the rights granted by the Donation of Constantine.]

9. That all princes shall kiss the foot of the pope alone. . . .

11. That the name applied to him [pope] belongs to him alone.

12. That he has the power to depose emperors.

13. That he has the right to transfer bishops from one see to another when it becomes necessary.

14. That he has the right to ordain as a cleric anyone from any part of the church whatsoever. . . .

16. That no general synod may be called without his order.

17. That no action of a synod and no book shall be regarded as canonical without his authority.

18. That his decree can be annulled by no one, and that he can annul the decrees of anyone.

19. That he can be judged by no one. . . .

21. That the important cases of any church whatsoever shall be referred to the Roman church [that is, to the pope].

22. That the Roman church has never erred and will never err to all eternity, according to the testimony of the holy scriptures.

23. That the Roman pontiff who has been canonically ordained is made holy by the merits of St. Peter. . . .

24. That by his command or permission subjects may accuse their rulers.

25. That he can depose and reinstate bishops without the calling of a synod.

26. That no one can be regarded as catholic who does not agree with the Roman church.

27. That he has the power to absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity to wicked rulers.

2. THE EMPEROR CHALLENGES THE POPE (1076) (13)

Henry, King not by usurpation, but by the pious ordination of God, to Hildebrand [Gregory], now not Pope, but false monk:

You have deserved such a salutation as this because of the confusion you have wrought; for you left untouched no order of the Church which you could make a sharer of confusion instead of honor, of malediction instead of benediction.

For to discuss a few outstanding points among many: Not only have you dared to touch the rectors of the holy Church—the archbishops, the bishops, and the priests, anointed of the Lord as they are—but you have trodden them under foot like slaves who know not what their lord may do. In crushing them you have gained for yourself acclaim from the mouth of the rabble. You have judged that all these know nothing, while you alone know everything. In any case, you have sedulously used this knowledge not for edification, but for destruction, so greatly that we may believe Saint Gregory, whose name you have arrogated to yourself, rightly made this prophesy of you when he said: "From the abundance of his subjects, the mind of the prelate is often exalted, and he thinks that

he has more knowledge than anyone else, since he sees that he has more power than anyone else."

And we, indeed, bore with all these abuses, since we were eager to preserve the honor of the Apostolic See. But you construed our humility as fear, and so you were emboldened to rise up even against the royal power itself, granted to us by God. You dared to threaten to take the kingship away from us—as though we had received the kingship from you, as though kingship and empire were in your hand and not in the hand of God.

Our Lord, Jesus Christ, has called us to kingship, but has not called you to the priesthood. For you have risen by these steps: namely, by cunning, which the monastic profession abhors, to money; by money to favor; by favor to the sword. By the sword you have come to the throne of peace, and from the throne of peace you have destroyed the peace. You have armed subjects against their prelates; you who have not been called by God have taught that our bishops who have been called by God are to be spurned; you have usurped for laymen the bishop's ministry over priests, with the result that these laymen depose and condemn the very men whom the laymen themselves received as teachers from the hand of God, through the imposition of the hands of bishops.

You have also touched me, one who, though unworthy, has been anointed to kingship among the anointed. This wrong you have done to me, although as the tradition of the holy Fathers has taught, I am to be judged by God alone and am not to be deposed for any crime unless—may it never happen—I should deviate from the Faith. For the prudence of the holy bishops entrusted the judgment and the deposition even of Julian the Apostate not to themselves, but to God alone. The true pope Saint Peter also exclaims, "Fear God, honor the king" (I Peter 2:17). You, however, since you do not fear God, dishonor me, ordained of Him.

Wherefore, when Saint Paul gave no quarter to an angel from Heaven if the angel should preach heterodoxy, he did not except you who are now teaching heterodoxy throughout the earth. For he says, "If anyone, either I or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Galatians 1:18). Descend, therefore, condemned by this anathema and by the common judgment of all our bishops and of ourself. Relinquish the Apostolic See which you have arrogated. Let another mount the throne of Saint Peter, another who will not cloak violence with religion but who will teach the pure doctrine of Saint Peter.

I, Henry, King by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say to you: Descend! Descend!

Questions For Thought

In the changing relationships between papacy and empire, did the reality of power or adherence to ideology play the determining role? Could there have been a lasting solution to the conflicting claims of Pope and emperor? Do any parallels to the issues raised in this problem exist in the modern world?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) J. C. Ayer, ed., *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 531–32.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 555–56.
(3) O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, eds., *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York, 1905), pp. 87–89.
(4) Ayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 686–88.
(5) Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–100, *passim.*
(6) E. F. Henderson, ed., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1912), pp. 319–29, *passim.*
(7) Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
(8) F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, eds., *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* (New York: Harper, 1912), pp. 16–19.
(9) Brian Pullan, ed., *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe from the Mid-Eighth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), pp. 51–52.
(10) Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–12.
(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.
(12) *Ibid.*, pp. 136–38.
(13) T. E. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, eds., *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 150–51.

CHAPTER FOUR

Aspects of Medieval Life

No era of Western history has been subjected to more markedly different interpretations than the Middle Ages. It has been idealistically pictured by some as an era of piety, chivalry, and rustic simplicity, while others have brusquely dismissed it as a long and dreary period of ignorance, religious bigotry, feudal warfare, and economic stagnation. What is a fair interpretation of life in the Middle Ages? The materials in this chapter deal with only a few aspects of medieval life, but they suggest that any simple explanation must yield to the evidence that this was a complex, many-faceted era.

Life for most medieval men was dominated by the requirements of the land and its lord, and limited by the boundaries of manorial estates. Part I of this chapter examines the conditions of life on the manor. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, Europe had evolved a pattern of existence that was, for its time, orderly and rational. Nation-states as they exist today had not yet appeared, but the political organization that did exist was in sharp contrast to the decentralization of early feudal times. Economically, society was in a state of change. Here and there in Western Europe were signs of urbanization, a rising middle class, and a sophisticated economic system. The business documents found in Part II of the chapter attest this fact. But the new spirit of business enterprise could scarcely avoid conflict with the fundamental doctrine of the Church that held that life in this world was chiefly a period of preparation for the next. The attempt of the Church to meet the challenge of rising secularism forms an important part of the picture of the Middle Ages, as is revealed in the last two parts of this chapter. Both seek answers to basically the same question: How were medieval men able to harmonize the apparently broad divergence between the ideal and the real? Part II investigates the ramifications of this question for the business community. Part III is concerned with the meaning and the achievement of human happiness.

PART I

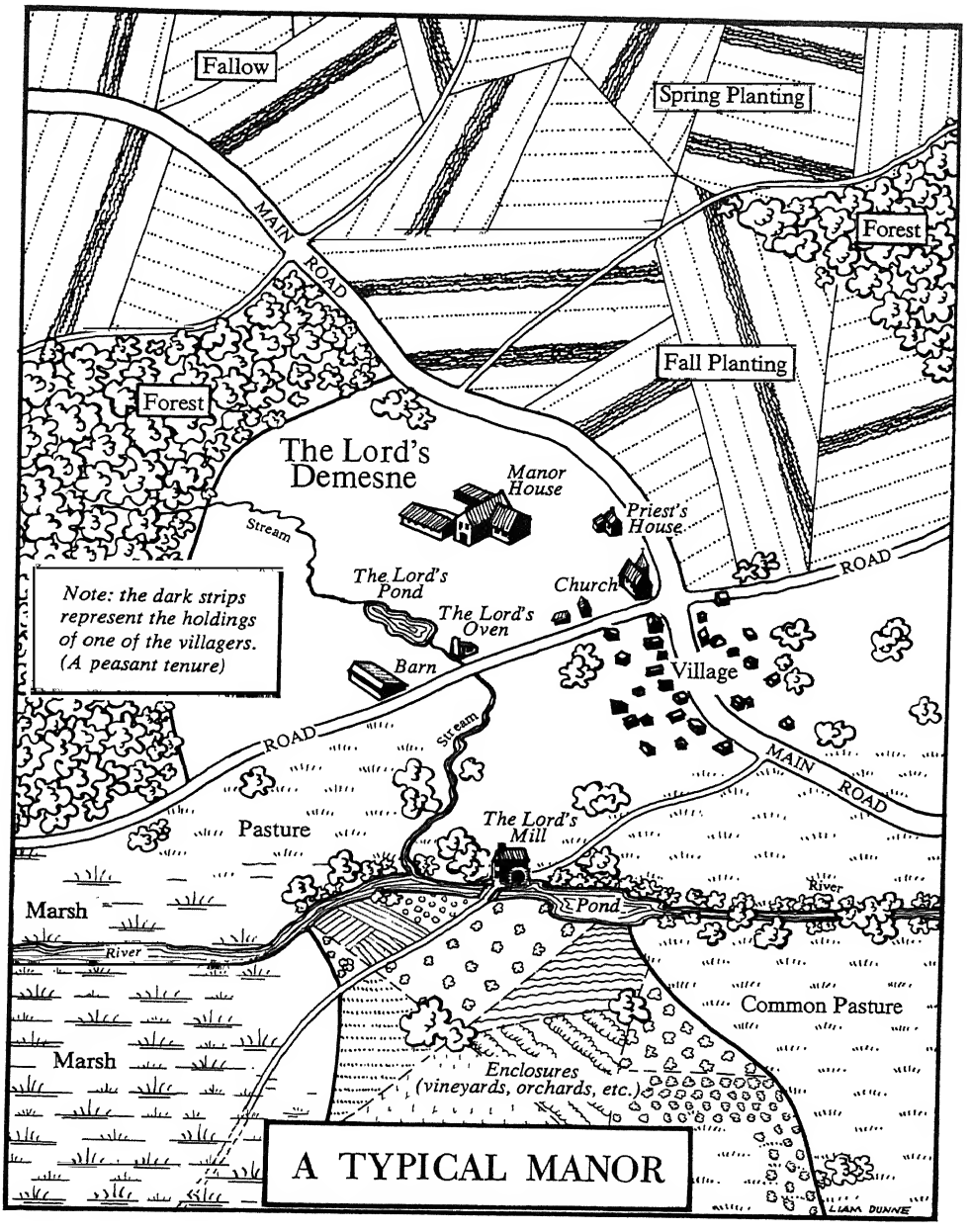
Life on the Manor

From the ninth to the twelfth centuries, close to nine of every ten Europeans made their living from the soil. Agricultural production throughout most of this rural society was organized in large estates (manors), and those who worked the land lived as dependents of the lord on his manor. These landed estates were generally isolated from one another, and those who worked the land seldom had any contact with men more powerful than their lord. Great forests still surrounded scattered areas of cleared land, and travel by land was slow and difficult. Life centered on the manor, and its customs were law for the tenant.

The size of a manor varied greatly, from less than one hundred to more than forty thousand acres. Many manors were large. In the ninth century, for example, the villas (manors) of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in northern France, of which there were at least twenty-two, averaged three thousand acres in size. Such large estates became typical centers of settlement in the rural economy of Europe. Amid their fields lay the villages. In northwestern Europe, villages seldom contained more than a thousand people, usually many fewer. Sometimes villages grouped together tenants of several manors, if the fields of those manors could all be reached by foot.

An aerial view of a typical estate in northwestern Europe would have revealed a large clearing in the forest, divided into large fields, each of which was sliced into carefully divided and tended strips. A large manor house, obviously that of the lord, would be found not too far from the clustered dwellings of his tenants. A chapel, and other scattered buildings—barns and stables, a mill for grinding grain, a press for getting juice from fruit, an oven for baking bread—would be visible. Vineyards or orchards might lie at the edge of the clearing, along with meadow for pasture. These fields, noted Marc Bloch, the great French medievalist, can speak to us through the records of the lay and ecclesiastical lords. In one way or another, the lords owned or controlled almost all the arable land. A look at the rent registers and records of title that survive from the ninth century on allows us to reconstruct the way in which the division of the land shaped the lives of those who lived on the manor.

The manor was divided into reserve land and peasant tenures. Reserve land, which represented an estimated quarter to third of the average estate at the beginning of the ninth century, was farmed by tenant labor but produced crops for the lord. The tenants, who drew their livelihood from crops grown on the remaining land, supplied additional wealth to the lord through rent for this



Note how the holdings of an individual peasant were scattered among the fields. Remember that the lord's holdings (reserve land) were similarly scattered and that between a quarter and a third of the arable land in the ninth century was farmed for his exclusive benefit.

land—the peasant tenures—and through special services, personal dues, taxes, and the fees and fines of the local court. Except in the royal domain that was small at the beginning of this period, jurisdiction over minor offenses belonged, without appeal, to the local lord.

The typical peasant household had between twenty-five and forty acres of arable land as its tenure. Since one-half to one-third of the land was kept fallow (unplanted) at any given time, as a primitive way of allowing the soil to regain its fertility, each peasant was given holdings in several fields. The contribution each household had to make in services, in kind, and sometimes in money varied from manor to manor according to both local custom and the legal status of the land and its owner.

The large estates of the late Roman Empire had been cultivated by both free men (*coloni*) and slaves (*servi*). In the course of centuries, the line between these two classes of men became blurred. By the beginning of the ninth century, there were very few outright slaves in Western Europe, yet the term "servus" had been passed on to a majority of the farming population, who were called serfs. These serfs were much less free to marry, to move, or to dispose of land than the free villagers. In addition, land which had once been worked by men of servile status continued to have heavy work services attached to its use, even when worked later by a free man. The legacy of slavery thus affected both the personal freedom of the tenant and the work obligations on his land.

By the end of the twelfth century the lot of the tenant in northwestern Europe had improved, largely because of the revival of commerce. His obligation to labor on the lord's reserve had already been reduced, in part because subdivision of peasant tenures through inheritance and transfer over the centuries had made it difficult to determine which of the present tenants were liable for the work services connected with the land. Now, for economic reasons, the lords began to change this reserve land into peasant tenures, reducing their need for labor services and increasing their income in rents. The commercial upswing of the twelfth century also made it possible for serfs to gain their personal freedom by converting servile dues into money payments. This revival of trade, moreover, helped the growth of towns, within whose walls the runaway serf could establish his freedom. Finally, royal justice began to assert itself over a larger area of France, limiting the jurisdiction of the manorial court. We should not forget, however, that serfdom, manorial courts, and the landlord's monopoly of mill, press, and oven survived in parts of France until the end of the eighteenth century, and that for some time thereafter serfdom continued to be widespread in Central and Eastern Europe.

The sources in this chapter reveal the kinds of personal relationships generated on the medieval manor by economic conditions, customary law, and lordly authority. As you read, consider the ways in which poverty, custom, hard work in the fields, and the position taken by the Church toward serfdom shaped the life of a medieval peasant.

A. The Image of the Peasant in Medieval Literature

The imaginative writing of the Middle Ages reveals a distinct though many-sided impression of the manorial peasant. This view emerges in the three selec-

tions that follow. The first is an exchange between master and pupils drawn from a manual of Latin conversation of the early eleventh century. It is followed by an extract from a verse poem of the late fourteenth century, "Piers Plowman's Creed." The last selection brings together pithy descriptions from several sources.

—How is the peasant viewed in these selections from medieval literature?
—What might explain the differences in attitudes?
—Is the industrial worker in our own society the object of similar feelings?

1. AELFRIC'S COLLOQUY: A MEDIEVAL SCHOOLBOOK DESCRIBES PEASANT LIFE (1)

Master: What do you say, ploughman, how do you do your work?

Pupil: Oh, sir, I work very hard. I go out at dawn, driving the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough; however hard the winter I dare not stay at home for fear of my master; but, having yoked the oxen and made the plough-share . . . fast to the plough, every day I have to plough a whole acre or more.

Master: Have you any companions?

Pupil: I have a boy who drives the oxen with the goad, and he is even now hoarse with cold and shouting.

Master: What more do you do in the day?

Pupil: A good deal more, to be sure. I have to fill the oxen's cribs with hay, and give them water, and carry the dung outside.

Master: Oh, oh, it is hard work.

Pupil: Yes, it is hard work, because I am not a free man.

2. PIERS PLOWMAN: A PEASANT FAMILY PLOWING THE FIELDS (2)

And as I went by the way, weeping for sorrow
I saw a poor man o'er the plow bending.
His coat was of a cloth that cary was called
His hood was full of holes and his hair seen through it.
With his shoes so worn and patched very thick
His toes pushed through as the fields he trod.
His hose o'erhung his gaiters all about
And dragged in the mud as the plow he followed.
Two mittens had he, skimpy, made of rags,
The fingers uncovered and coated with mud.
This poor creature, beslimed in the mud almost to the ankle,
Four oxen before him, that feeble had become,
One might count the ribs, so pitiful they were.
Beside him his wife, with a long goad.
In a cutted skirt, cutted full high;
Wrapped in a winnowing sheet, to guard her from weather,

Barefoot on bare ice, so that the blood followed.
And at the field's end lay a little basket
And therein a little child, covered in rags,
And twins of two years old upon another side.
And they all sang a song that was sorrow to hear,
They all cried a cry, a note full of woe—
The poor man sighed sore, and said "Children be still!"

3. A VIEW OF THE PEASANT IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE (3)

Most medieval literature, whether written for the nobility or the bourgeoisie, deigns to take notice of the peasant only to scorn him. "Peasants are those who can be called cattle." "They have such hard heads and stupid brains that nothing can penetrate them." "They have one squint eye and the other is blind. They have a shifty look. They have one good foot and the other twisted." "The serf is born of ass's dung." "He was large and marvelously ugly and hideous. He had a huge head blacker than coal, the space of a palm between his eyes, large cheeks, a great flat nose, large lips redder than live coals, long, hideous and yellow teeth. His clothing and shoes were of cowhide, and a large cape enveloped him. He leaned on a great club." "He had enormous arms and massive limbs . . . his shoulders were large, his chest deep, his hair bristling, and his face black as coal. He went for six months without bathing: none but rain water ever touched his face." "The devil did not want the peasants in hell because they smelled too badly." "Go make them pay . . . they ought to pay well. Go take their houses; take both cows and calves, for the peasants are felons. . . . I do not know of a meaner people than the peasant." "They do not take cheerfully their need and poverty, and are dishonest and envious and backbiting and proud and full of envy and vice. Indeed, the peasant thinks that if he can get anything from the rich man, by whatever means, it is no sin." "The rustic is best when he weeps, worst when he is merry." "What part of speech is peasant? A noun. What sort of noun? Jewish. Wherefore? Because he is as silly and ugly as a Jew. . . . What gender? The asinine gender; for in all his deeds and works he is ever like unto an ass. . . . The backs of all peasants are bowed like the back of an ox. . . . The peasant grieves that the clerks make free with his wife and live on his labours."

B. Customs of the Manor

One way to understand the rights and duties of the manorial tenant is through the study of custom. This term means the way things have usually been

done, but manorial life gave "custom" a special meaning. For a tenant the customs of a manor were the specific rents, services, and special payments he owed for the privilege of working his tenure. The two contemporary sources that follow describe customs as obligations of tenants on English manors in the eleventh and early fourteenth centuries. For their separate periods and localities, they reveal the obligations expected of different kinds of tenants, as well as the reciprocal obligations of tenant and lord. In the third selection, the historian Marc Bloch examines the ways in which the rule of custom—the memory of how things had been done in the past—might give protection to a tenant against a lord's arbitrary action.

—What kind of obligations did the peasant (boor) owe his lord in the eleventh century?
—Were work services on the lord's land heavier or lighter for the tenant in the fourteenth century than in the eleventh? Could the new obligations still be considered customs?
—Why, according to Bloch, did the rule of custom allow the lord to exercise arbitrary power over his tenants?

1. THE DUTIES OF A FREE PEASANT IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY (4)

The boor's duties are various, in some places heavy and in others light. On some estates the custom is that he must perform week-work for 2 days in each week of the year as he is directed, and 3 days from the Feast of the Purification to Easter. If he perform carrying service he need not work while his horse is out. At Michaelmas [feast of the archangel Michael, September 29] he must pay 10 pence for *gafol* [tribute], and at Martinmas [feast of St. Martin, November 11] 23 sesters of barley, and 2 hens, and at Easter a young sheep or 2 pence. And he must lie from Martinmas to Easter at his lord's fold as often as it falls to his lot; and from the time when ploughing is first done until Martinmas he must each week plough 1 acre, and himself present the seed in the lord's barn. Also (he must plough) 3 acres as boon-work, and 2 for pasturage. If he needs more grass, let him earn it as he may be permitted. Let him plough 3 acres as his tribute land and sow it from his own barn, and pay his hearth-penny [the act of a free man]. And every pair of boors must maintain 1 hunting dog, and each boor must give 6 loaves to the herdsman of the lord's swine when he drives his herd to the mast-pasture. On the same land to which the customs apply a farmer ought to be given for his occupation of the land 2 oxen, 1 cow, 6 sheep and 7 acres sown on his rood of land. After that year let him perform all the dues that fall to him, and let him be given tools for his work and utensils for his house. When death befalls him let the lord take charge of what he leaves.

The estate-law is fixed on each estate: at some places, as I have said, it is

heavier, at some places, also, lighter, because not all customs about estates are alike. On some estates a boor must pay tribute in honey, on some in food, on some in ale. Let him who has the shire always know what are the ancient arrangements about the estate and what is the custom of the district.

2. DUTIES OF A SMALL TENANT ON THE MANOR BERNEHOME, SUSSEX, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY (5)

John of Cayworth holds a house and thirty acres of land, and owes yearly 2s. at Easter and Michaelmas; and he owes a cock and two hens at Christmas, of the value of 4d.

And he ought to harrow for two days at the Lenten sowing with one man and his own horse and his own harrow, the value of the work being 4d.; and he is to receive from the lord on each day three meals, of the value of 5d., and then the lord will be at a loss of 1d. Thus his harrowing is of no value to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the manure of the lord for two days with one cart, with his own two oxen, the value of the work being 8d.; and he is to receive from the lord each day three meals of the price as above. And thus the service is worth 3d. clear.

And he shall find one man for two days for mowing the meadow of the lord, who can mow, by estimation, one acre and a half, the value of the mowing of an acre being 6d.; the sum is therefore 9d., and he is to receive each day three meals of the value given above; and thus that mowing is worth 4d. clear.

And he ought to gather and carry that same hay which he has cut, the price of the work being 3d.

And he shall have from the lord two meals for one man, of the value of 1½d. Thus the work will be worth 1½d. clear.

And he ought to carry the hay of the lord for one day with a cart and three animals of his own, the price of the work being 6d. And he shall have from the lord three meals of the value of 2½d. And thus the work is worth 3½d. clear.

And he ought to carry in autumn beans or oats for two days with a cart and three animals of his own, the value of a work being 12d. And he shall receive from the lord each day three meals of the value given above; and thus the work is worth 7d. clear.

And he ought to carry wood from the woods of the lord as far as the manor house for two days in summer with a cart and three animals of his own, the value of the work being 9d. And he shall receive from the lord each day three meals of the price given above, and thus the work is worth 4d. clear.

And he ought to find one man for two days to cut heath, the value of the work being 4d., and he shall have three meals each day of the value given above; and thus the lord will lose, if he receives the service, 3d. Thus that mowing is worth nothing to the service of the lord.

And he ought to carry the heath which he has cut, the value of the day's work being 5d. And he shall receive from the lord three meals at the price of 2½d. And thus the work will be worth 2½d. clear.

And he ought to carry to Battle [sic] twice in the summer season, each time half a load of grain, the value of the service being 4d. And he shall receive in the manor each time one meal of the value of 2d. And thus the work is worth 2d. clear.

The total of the rents, with the value of the hens, is 2s.4d.

The total of the value of the works is 2s.3½d.; owed from the said John yearly.

William of Cayworth holds a house and 30 acres of land and owes at Easter and Michaelmas 2s. rent. And he shall do all customs just as the aforesaid John of Cayworth. . . .

3. BLOCH: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CUSTOMARY LAW (6)

Fundamentally traditionalist, as was the whole of civilization in that period, the legal system of the first feudal age [roughly 850–1050 A.D.] rested on the

Landlord receiving dues from peasant. A German woodcut of the fifteenth century. Note that the different dress and posture of the lord and peasant establish their social positions. The fact that the peasants bring money, animals, and perhaps produce to the lord indicate their relationship to him.

idea that what has been has *ipso facto* the right to be —though not indeed without some reservations inspired by a higher morality. . . . There could be, in consequence, 'bad customs'. In fact, the legal documents quite frequently use these words, but almost invariably they are applied to rules actually or supposedly of recent origin—'those detestable innovations', 'those unheard-of exactions', denounced by so many monastic texts. A custom, in other words, might seem especially to deserve condemnation when it was too new. Whether it was a question of Church reform or of a law-suit between two neighbouring lords, the prestige of the past could scarcely be contested save by setting against it a past more venerable still.

The strange thing is that this law in whose eyes any change seemed an evil, far from being unchangeable, was in fact one of the most flexible ever known. This was due above all to the fact that it was not firmly fixed in writing —either in legal documents or in the form of statutes. The majority of the courts contented themselves with purely oral decisions. What if it was desired to restate them later? Inquiry was made of the judges, if they were still alive. In contracts, the intentions of the parties were made binding by means of gestures and sometimes the repetition of conventional formulas, in fact by a whole series of formalities well calculated to impress imaginations little susceptible to the abstract. Italy was an exception in that writing played a part in the exchange of agreements and was itself a recognized element in the ritual. To indicate the cession of an estate, the deed was passed from hand to hand, as elsewhere a lump of earth or a straw would have been. North of the Alps, the parchment, even if it were produced, served as little more than a memento; it had no authentic value, and was intended chiefly to provide a list of witnesses. For in the last analysis everything depended on personal testimony—even if 'black ink' had been used, still more so in the undoubtedly more numerous cases where it had not. Since memory was obviously likely to be the more enduring the longer its possessors were destined to remain on this earth, the contracting parties often brought children with them. Did they fear the heedlessness of childhood? Various methods could be used to overcome it: a box on the ear, a trifling gift, or even an enforced bath.

Whether it was a question of particular transactions or of the general rules of customary law, memory was almost the sole guardian of tradition. Now the human memory . . . is a marvelous instrument of elimination and transformation—especially what we call collective memory. Since this is in fact merely a transmission of material from generation to generation, it is not only liable, if not committed to writing, to the errors to which each individual brain is liable in the recording of facts but also suffers through misunderstandings of what is said. This would not have been serious had there existed in feudal Europe a class of professional keepers of the legal memory such as other societies—the Scandinavian, for example—employed. But, in feudal Europe and amongst the laity, few of the men to whom it fell to declare the law did so regularly. Not having undergone a systematic training, they were reduced more often than not,

as one of them complained, to following 'any course that seemed open to them or was suggested by their whims'. Jurisprudence, in short, was the expression of needs rather than of knowledge. Because its efforts to imitate the past were inevitably based only on an inaccurate picture of it, the first feudal age changed very quickly and very profoundly while believing itself to be unchanging.

In one sense, moreover, the very authority that was ascribed to tradition favoured the change. For every act, especially if it was repeated three or four times, was likely to be transformed into a precedent—even if in the first instance it had been exceptional or even frankly unlawful. In the ninth century, when one day there was a shortage of wine in the royal cellars at Ver, the monks of Saint-Denis were asked to supply the two hundred hogs-heads required. This contribution was thenceforward claimed from them as of right every year, and it required an imperial charter to abolish it. At Ardres, we are told, there was once a bear, the property of the local lord. The inhabitants, who loved to watch it fight with dogs, undertook to feed it. The beast eventually died, but the lord continued to exact the loaves of bread. The authenticity of this story may perhaps be disputed, but its symbolic significance is beyond doubt. Many dues originated in this way as benevolent gifts and for a long time continued to be so described. Conversely a rent which ceased to be paid for a certain number of years, or a ceremony of submission once omitted, almost inevitably fell into desuetude by prescription. Thus the practice was introduced of drawing up, in growing numbers, those curious documents which students of diplomacy call 'charters of non-prejudice'. A baron or a bishop seeks lodgings from an abbot; a king, in need of money, appeals to the generosity of a subject. Agreed, replies the person thus approached, but on one condition: that it shall be specified, in black and white, that my compliance shall not create a right at my expense. These precautions, however, were seldom allowed except to men of a certain rank and were only effective when the balance of power was not too unequal. A too common consequence of the notion of custom was that brutality was legalized and encouraged by being made profitable. It was the practice in Catalonia, when an estate was alienated, to state, in a singularly cynical formula, that it was handed over with all the advantages that its possessor enjoyed 'by grace or by violence'.

This respect for what had been done in the past operated with peculiar force on the system of real property rights. It is very rare, during the whole of the feudal era, for anyone to speak of ownership, either of an estate or of an office; much rarer still—never perhaps, except in Italy—for a lawsuit to turn on such ownership. What the parties claim is almost invariably 'seisin' (in German, *Gewere*). . . . What then was this famous seisin? It was not exactly possession, which the mere seizure of the land or the right would have sufficed to create. It was possession made venerable by the lapse of time. Two litigants go to law about a field or a right to administer justice. No matter which of them is the present holder, that one will succeed who is able to prove that he ploughed the land or administered justice during previous years or, better still, that his

ancestors before him did so. For this purpose, in so far as the case is not remitted to the ordeal or to trial by battle, he will invoke as a rule 'the memory of men, as far as it extends'. Title-deeds were hardly ever produced save to assist memory, and if they proved that a transfer had taken place it was merely a transfer of seisin. Once the proof of long usage had been adduced, no one considered it worth while to prove anything else.

C. The Power of the Lord

In addition to rents, direct work services, and special payments, the lord also derived some income from his monopoly of local justice and of certain services essential to daily life. The judicial privileges of the lord on his manor originated in the late Roman Empire when the idea and force of public law and authority declined. Many of the former functions of the state, like those of justice and police, became functions of the large landholder and were localized on the estate. Sometimes this process was formalized by the guarantee to a lord that his lands would be free from royal jurisdiction. The first source below, presented earlier to illuminate the growth of feudalism, illustrates this kind of grant. On the royal estates, worked directly for the king's benefit, the king remained responsible through his agents for the administration of justice. A set of instructions to the royal stewards, written about 800 A.D., indicates the importance attached to this activity.

An injunction from an English manorial court record of the early fourteenth century, the third selection, reminds us of the persistence of the lord's monopoly of vital services on the manor, and the penalty for failure to use the mill. Finally, Marc Bloch's study of French agrarian life examines how the judicial and economic privileges of the lord added to his authority.

—What were the main sources of the lord's power over his tenants?
—Why were the royal instructions so concerned with justice?

1. THE LORD'S JUSTICE: FORMULA FOR THE GRANT OF A MANOR TO A LAY LORD IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY (7)

Wherefore, by our present authority we have decreed what we command shall be kept forever, that the man aforesaid, *so and so,* should have conceded to him *such and such* a vill [manor] as we have said, in its entirety, with the lands, houses, buildings, villeins [free tenants], slaves, vineyards, woods, fields, meadows, pastures, waters or watercourses, grist mills, additions, appurtenances, or any kind of men who are subjected to our Treasury who dwell there; in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind of causes. Thus he may have, hold, and possess

it in proprietary right and without expecting the entrance of any of the judges; and may leave the possession of it to his posterity, by the aid of God, from our bounty, or to whom he will; and by our permission he shall have free power to do whatever he may wish with it for the future. And in order that this authority may be held as more firm, we have decreed it to be corroborated below with our own hand.

2. INSTRUCTIONS TO STEWARDS MANAGING THE ROYAL ESTATES IN SOUTHWESTERN FRANCE, *c.* 800 A.D. (8)

4. If any of our people does injury to us either by stealing or by some other offense he shall make good the damage and for the remainder of the legal satisfaction he shall be punished by whipping, with the exception of homicide and arson cases which are punishable by fines. The stewards, for injuries of our people to other men, shall endeavor to secure justice according to the practices which they have, as is the law. Instead of paying fines our people, as we have said, shall be whipped. Freemen who live in our domains or estates shall make good the injuries they do according to their law and the fines which they have incurred shall be paid for our use either in cattle or in equivalent value. . . .

29. Each steward shall see to it that anyone of our people who have cases to plead shall not of necessity have to come to us so that he will not lose through negligence days on which he ought to be working. And if one of our serfs has some rights to claim outside our lands, his master shall do all that he can to secure justice for him. In case the serf shall not be able to get justice his master shall not permit him to exhaust himself in his efforts but shall see to it that the matter is made known to us by himself or by his representative. . . .

52. We wish that our stewards render justice to our *coloni* and serfs and to the *coloni* living on our estates, to the different men fully and entirely such as they are due. . . .

56. Each steward shall hold frequent audiences in his district, administer justice, and see to it that our peoples live uprightly. . . .

57. If any of our serfs wishes to say anything to us about our affairs over and above his steward, the steward shall not obstruct the means of his coming to us. If the steward knows that his assistants wish to come to the palace to speak against him then he shall make known to the palace the arguments . . . so that their denunciations in our ears may not engender disgust. Accordingly we wish to know whether they come from necessity or without sufficient cause. . . .

3. INJUNCTION TO TENANTS OF THE PRIORY OF DURHAM (9)

Billingham, 1364. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill [manor] that none of them grind his grain outside of the domain so long as the mill of the lord prior is able to grind, under penalty of 20s.

4. BLOCH: THE LORD'S RIGHT TO COMMAND (10)

On each *seigneurie* [manor], low justice and a territorial jurisdiction over his estate (the hearing of petty offences and causes relating to the tenures) belonged to the lord, or, which was much the same, to the court which he set up, summoned and presided over (whether in person or through his deputy), and whose decisions he would carry out. . . .

This almost unrestricted exercise of rights of jurisdiction armed lords with a weapon of economic exploitation whose potentialities seem limitless. It reinforced their power to command, the faculty described in the language of the day as the lord's *ban,* an old Germanic word meaning precisely command, order. As the inhabitants of a village in Roussillon acknowledged in 1246, writing to the Templars who were lords of the place, 'You can compel us to obey these rules' (about using the lord's bakehouse) 'just as a lord can and should compel his subject'. And consider this incident, which took place in Picardy about 1319. The lord's bailiff had ordered a peasant to go and cut wood; this was not a *corvée* [special work service], the job would have been paid for at 'labourer's' rates. The man refused, and was thereupon fined by the seigneurial court for his 'disobedience'. Among all the many possible uses of this authority, in practice one of the most significant and important was in the creation of seigneurial monopolies.

In Carolingian times the demesne frequently included a water-mill among its amenities (windmills had yet to be introduced into the West). There can be no doubt that many of the households occupying *mansi* were in the habit of bringing their corn there to be ground, with considerable profit to the lord. But there is no evidence that they were forced to do so. Many probably still had hand-driven mills in their own homes. From the tenth century a very large number of lords took advantage of their coercive powers to compel all the men living on their land (and sometimes even on neighbouring lands if their jurisdiction or effective authority extended so far) to make use of the seigneurial mill—naturally at a price. The establishment of this monopoly coincided with a technological advance, the final substitution of hydraulic power for human or animal effort as the driving force. The complicated machinery of the water-mill would obviously only be worth installing if it was to be used by a large group of people, and the river or stream which drove it was often regarded as part of the lord's demesne property. But it was the element of compulsion rather than the technical advance that was really decisive: without compulsion, who knows how long the peasants might not have clung to their domestic mills? It is safe to say that neither the evolution of machinery nor the lord's possession of rights over running water was the overriding factor in this tightening of seigneurial control: for although constraint to use the lord's mill (*ban* in the sources—the word is significant) seems to have been the most widespread of all seigneurial monopolies, it was far from being unique. In its other manifestations seigneurial monop-

olism owed nothing to technical improvements or to the possession of rights over water.

Constraint to use the lord's bakehouse was almost as common as enforced use of the lord's mill. In wine or cider country the lord's press almost invariably had the monopoly, in beer or ale country the lord's brewhouse. Small holders who were anxious to increase their flocks were often forced to use the lord's bull or the lord's boar. In the south, where the grain instead of being beaten with a flail was usually trodden out under horses' hooves, many lords insisted that beasts from the demesne stables should be used, in return for a fat fee. And finally, the monopoly could be of a more exorbitant nature still—during certain weeks of the year the lord could reserve to himself the right to sell particular forms of produce, usually wine (*banvin*).

Admittedly, nothing of this was unique to France. England had its suit of mill, its seigneurial monopolies selling beer, even compulsions imposed on tenants to buy beer. Germany had much the same monopolies as France. But it was in France that the system reached its apogee; nowhere else did it embrace so many estates or so many of the different economic activities carried on in a single place. There can be no doubt that this was due to the greater authority of the French *seigneur*, derived from his almost total usurpation of jurisdiction. When the jurists of the thirteenth century set about providing a theoretical framework for this social order, it was a sound intuition that led them to connect constraints and monopolies with the organization of justice; over this they are unanimous, although the forms in which they clothe their thoughts vary with the author and the cases under discussion. The right to judge was indeed the surest foundation for the right to command.

D. The Nature and Meaning of Serfdom

Any examination of serfdom must go beyond a description of conditions to a consideration of their meaning. Marc Bloch, in the first selection, describes ways in which the serf was deprived of privileges enjoyed by the free man. The author of the second selection, the English historian R. W. Southern, then examines the meaning of serfdom and liberty in medieval Christian social thought.

—What did dependence mean to a serf in practice?
—What conception of liberty was held by medieval theologians?
—What contribution, if any, did the Church make to the authority of the lord over his serf?
—Why was pride of liberty, as Southern puts it, strong in men who had never been free?

1. BLOCH: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A SERF (11)

The serf's hereditary attachment was to a man, not to a tenure. The medi-

eval serf must not be confused with the *colonus* of the Later Empire; he might be descended from him by blood, but his status was quite different. The *colonus* was in theory a free man (which according to the categories of his age meant he was above slavery) who had been chained by law to his holding, which his son was obliged to inherit; he was not, it was said, the slave of a person, which would have made him merely a *servus*, but of a thing, the land. This subtle fiction was quite unknown to the robust realism of medieval law, and in any case could only have been enforced by a strong government. In a society where no sovereign power held sway above the dust of the seigneurial courts, the idea of this 'eternal' union of men with the soil would have been quite devoid of content, with no reason to commend its preservation to a legal mentality largely unencumbered, as we have seen, by survivals from the earlier age. Once a man had gone, who was there to seize him by the collar? More pertinent still, who could force his new master, who had perhaps already accepted him, to send him back? Definitions of serfdom arrived at by courts or jurists have survived in some quantity: none before the fourteenth century include 'attachment to the soil' among its characteristics in any shape or form. There is no disputing that the lords, with their vital interest in protecting themselves against depopulation, might not on occasion retain their tenants by force. Two neighbouring lords often reached a mutual agreement not to grant asylum to absconders. But their arrangements, which took their force from the over-all power of the seigneurial *ban*, applied as much to the so-called 'free' villeins as to those whose status is described as servile. . . . The only difference . . . is that the departure of a serf did not, as in the case of a free villein, automatically free him from his chains. Suppose he settles on another holding. Then he will henceforth owe the lord of that holding all the common obligations of villeinage. But at the same time he will continue to be liable to his old master, to whom his 'body' still belongs, for the obligations proper to his servile status. Since he is compelled to give aid to both, he will pay a double tallage. Or at least that was the law. In practice one can well imagine that many of these 'foreigners' ended by losing themselves among the throng of itinerants. But the principle leaves no room for doubt. There was only one way such a powerful bond could be broken, by a solemn act of enfranchisement.

It is time to set out the commonest charges and incapacities which defined the constricting bonds of dependence in which the serf passed his days.

A lord, even where he could not exercise higher jurisdiction over his other tenants, was sole judge of his serfs in matters 'of life and limb', no matter where that serf might be living. This enhanced the lord's power to command and brought him appreciable profits: the right to judge was lucrative.

A serf was not allowed to marry outside the group of serfs dependent on his lord. This provision was necessary to ensure that the lord kept control of the children. Sometimes, however, a young man or woman sought and obtained permission to marry elsewhere, to 'marry out' [*formarier*]. This was naturally obtained only at a price. Here was another source of profit.

A serf, male or female, had to make the lord an annual payment called *chevage*. This was not an important source of profit, since its main purpose was to provide permanent proof of serfdom and the amount was only small.

In certain situations, or to a limited degree, a lord might inherit from his serf. Two different systems were in operation. One, particularly associated with the extreme north, is almost completely analogous to the custom commonly observed in England and Germany: whenever a serf died, the lord was entitled to a small part of his estate, the best chattel, the best head of cattle, or perhaps a very small sum of money. The other system, generally known as the right of *mainmorte,* was peculiar to France and the more frequently followed there. Where a serf left children—or, according to a later modification of the rule, where he left children living with him at the time of his death—the lord got nothing. If the heirs were only collateral, the lord took everything. . . .

Our view of serfdom would be incomplete if we thought of it only as an unusually strong hereditary bond uniting the weaker to the more powerful. By a dualism which is one of its most patent characteristics, serfdom made a man at once the subject of his chief and a member of an inferior and despised social class, near the bottom of the scale. He was not allowed to give evidence against free men (serfs belonging to the king or to certain ecclesiastical landlords were exceptions, by reason of their master's rank). Under Canon Law serfs were excluded from Holy Orders unless they first obtained their freedom, on the grounds that they were too dependent, though in fact this was simply a transference of a rule originally made for slaves. The servile condition was an indisputably damaging stigma; but, at this period at least, it was also and above all a personal tie linking one human being with another. . . .

2. SOUTHERN: THE BONDS OF SOCIETY (12)

There were many ways of looking on [serfdom], but broadly we may distinguish a high religious view, and the view of the ordinary man. As to the first, it is relevant to observe the title used by the head of Christendom in all his acts: *servus servorum Dei,* which could be translated 'serf of the serfs of God'. There was nothing abhorrent in the idea of servitude—everything depended on its object. All men by sin have lost the dignity of freedom and have made themselves, in varying degrees, slaves of their passions: the way to freedom lies through a new subjection, the humiliation of self-negation. The teaching about serfdom in the Schools of the early twelfth century is well represented by some sentences which come from the influential circle of Anselm of Laon:

> Servitude is ordained by God, either because of the sins of those who become serfs, or as a trial, in order that those who are thus humbled may be made better. For servitude is of great help to religion in protecting humility, the guardian of all virtues; and it would seem to be pride for anyone

to wish to change that condition which has been given him for good reason by the divine ordinance.

This was the teaching of a school which stood for a somewhat heartless and uninspired efficiency in scholastic matters, but here is a more urgent expression of the same point of view: St. Anselm is writing to a monk who proposed to make a journey to his native land in order to save his sister from a state of serfdom to which she had been unjustly depressed:—

> What concern is it of monks—men who have resolved to flee the world—what does it matter to them, who serves whom in the world, or under what name? Is not every man born to labour as a bird to flight? Does not almost every man serve either under the name of lord or serf? And is not he who is called a serf in the Lord, the Lord's freeman; and he who is called free, is he not Christ's serf? So if all men labour and serve, and the serf is a freeman of the Lord, and the freeman is a serf of Christ, what does it matter apart from pride—either to the world or to God—who is called a serf and who is called free?

It is easy to see that from this point of view secular serfdom had no terrors. The burdens and restrictions it imposed were of feather weight compared with those imposed by the radical servitude of unredeemed nature. At best, this human servitude was a preparatory discipline, teaching the motions of humility to a will not yet subdued; at worst, it added only one more lord, and the least tyrannous of them, to the array of lordly passions under which human nature already groaned. At best, it taught the first step in religion—humility; at worst it lessened the dominion of self-will by subjection to the will of another. Hence it came about that the ceremonies of initiation into serfdom were often used to symbolize initiation into the liberty of religion. We read of the young St. Odilo, later abbot of Cluny, entering a lonely church and offering himself as a serf to the Virgin, with the token offering of serfdom hung round his neck and with God as his witness. We read also of St. Gerard of Brogne going every second year to Rome 'with ten shillings hanging from his neck to offer himself as a serf to his Lord'. It was an idea which came naturally to the triumphant Crusaders when they entered Jerusalem in 1099, to go to the Holy Sepulchre and offer their *capitale tributum*—their head money—to the Lord. The symbolism of serfdom seemed to these men a fitting expression of the demands made by religion. When theologians extolled the benefits of mundane serfdom as a doorway to religion, and condemned the attempt to throw off this condition as an exhibition of the sin of pride, this was not simply comfortable doctrine for the well-to-do, teaching the poor their place. It sprang from a deep sense of the place of man in the universe, and it was authorized not only by striking acts of religious devotion but by the countless unknown surrenders implicit in the monastic life.

Yet all this did not make for—rather it was incompatible with—any theory such as that of Aristotle that serfdom or slavery was a condition for which

some men were marked out by nature. On the contrary, serfdom was regarded as an unnatural state, only justified by the even deeper disharmony in the state of man induced by sin and the conflict with God. This is a theme which recurs again and again in our documents: *lex poli,* so the jingle ran, is not the same as *lex fori*—

> by Heaven's high law all men are free,
> but human law knows slavery.

By what right does human law perpetuate this unnatural condition? If we went a hundred years beyond the limit of this book we should find men devoted to a primitive evangelical purity of life pressing this question with uncomfortable persistence. But in our period there was a sufficient, if not wholly satisfying, answer: God wills that the very sins of men shall turn to the relief of human misery; the man who in his pride and arrogance beats down the weak is a sinner indeed, but he establishes a kind of peace. Little good can be expected in the world, but even that little is only to be had by submission to the man who thus strangely becomes God's minister and beareth not the sword in vain. The choice of half a loaf is all that is left to man, and to resist is to throw away even this; the serf still has his life, his family, his livelihood and, by that special mercy which turns all things to good, in his very serfdom, an instrument for the exercise of his religion, the expiation of his sins, and the perfecting of his humility. And then—to emphasize that serfdom like other human institutions existed on sufferance only—there was always manumission. It was the duty of the serf to submit: it was the glory of the lord to free. "Whoever, in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, moved by charity, permits anyone of his servile dependents to rise from the yoke of servitude to the honour of liberty, may surely trust that in the Last Day, he himself will be endued with everlasting and celestial liberty." These are the words of an eleventh-century act of manumission: they give the only answer to the problem of serfdom which the religious doctrine of the period allowed.

But there was another, less elevated, view of the matter which was shared by the majority of men, free and unfree alike. Even the monk to whom St. Anselm wrote, rejected his advice and made the long journey from England to Italy to try to save his sister from serfdom. To nearly all men serfdom was, without qualification, a degrading thing, and they found trenchant phrases to describe the indignity of the condition. The serf's family was always referred to by lawyers as his brood, his *sequela,* and the poets delighted to exercise their ingenuity in describing the physical deformity of the ideal serf. Hard words break no bones, but they are hard to bear for all that, and they became harder as time went on. Men well knew, however theologians might seem to turn common notions inside out, the difference between the yoke of servitude and the honour of liberty—or, to use the expressive phrase of Giraldus Cambrensis*, the *hilaritas*

* [Giraldus Cambrensis (*c.* 1147–*c.* 1223) was a medieval ecclesiastic and historian.]

libertatis: "There is nothing," he wrote, "which so stirs the hearts of men and incites them to honourable action like the lightheartedness of liberty; and nothing which so deters and depresses them like the oppression of servitude". If we consider only the practical effects of serfdom and notice how little the lines of economic prosperity follow those of personal status; if we reflect on the many impediments to free action, to which even the mightiest were subjected in such delicate matters as marriage and the bequeathing of property, it may seem surprising that the pride of liberty was so strong, and the contempt for serfdom so general: yet such was the case. However much the hierarchical principle of society forced men into relationships at all levels of society in which rights and restraints were inextricably mixed up, the primitive line which divided liberty from servitude was never forgotten.

Questions For Thought

Conditions limiting personal freedom still exist in many parts of the world. What conditions seem to you to place the greatest limits on freedom—economic, political, legal, social? Are there others that seem to you equally important? What does freedom mean to you?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Aelfric, *Colloquy,* trans. G. G. Coulton in *The Medieval Village* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 307.
(2) "Peres the Ploughman's Crede". Old English text in W. R. Skeat, *Specimens of English Literature* (Oxford, 1871), pp. 7–8 (Adapted DPR).
(3) J. W. Thompson and E. N. Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe 300–1500* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937), p. 343.
(4) "Rights and Ranks of People," trans. S. I. Tucker in *English Historical Documents, 1042–1189,* eds. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 813–14.
(5) Edward P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History Drawn From the Original Sources* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1908), pp. 215–17.
(6) Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society,* trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 113–15.
(7) Edward P. Cheyney, ed., "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History,* ed. by Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1898), IV, No. 3, pp. 12–13.
(8) "Capitulare De Villis," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges II,* I (1883), trans. in *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West: A Source Book* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), I, 25, 28, 30, 31.
(9) Record Commission, *Rotuli Hundredorum* (London, 1812–18), II, 658–59, trans. in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History,* ed. by Department of History at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1896), III, No. 5, p. 26.
(10) Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics,* trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 78–81.
(11) *Ibid.,* pp. 86–87.
(12) R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 103–07.

PART II

The Ideal and the Practice in Medieval Business Life

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed an expansion of business activity and a revival of international trade. A collateral development was the increasing concern of churchmen over the conflict between the natural business goal of monetary profit and the Christian ideal of unselfishness. Those who walked in the Way of the Cross were not encouraged to live the life of the profit-seeker; the Church in general was opposed to commercial pursuits.

The forces of economic growth that caused medieval churchmen such concern were particularly apparent in Northern Italy, where a complex and sophisticated business machinery developed. The files of the notaries public of the period are filled with records of sales, partnerships, credit loans, and letters of exchange, which indicate a business mentality that must surprise anyone who had the erroneous impression that the Middle Ages was a period of strictly religious concerns.

Letters of exchange began to supersede the shipment of bullion (gold and silver) at the end of the twelfth century. When a merchant in Arras owed money to a merchant in Genoa, and a third merchant, also of Genoa, owed money to a fourth merchant, also of Arras, the first merchant of Arras would pay his compatriot in Arras, and the Genoese debtor would pay the Genoese creditor. Shipment of money through unsafe areas was thus avoided.

Lombard merchants developed orders similar to our checks for the transfer of credit. For example A might order his debtor, B, to pay C, who was A's creditor. Through the brokerage of such orders the money changer became the banker responsible for adjusting the transfer of credit on his books.

The increased need for capital encouraged the formation of business partnerships. Frequent use of partnerships led to the chartering of ships by groups of merchants, which led in turn to the stock company, in which each of the parties shared in the voyage's profits in proportion to his initial investment. The next step, the most important, came when the association did not disband at the end of a venture but lived on for an indefinite number of expeditions. A thirteenth-century example was Genoa's Bank of St. George.

In the conflict between the spiritual and material sides of life the eventual victory went to the material side. To understand this process of change one must ask what effect each force had on the other. Was the Church steadfast in its resistance or did it accommodate change, and if it did accommodate was it at the

cost of compromising its position? Did ambitious men of commerce openly flout Church authority, or did they find it more useful to pretend that there was no conflict between their behavior and the teaching of the Church?

A. The Ideal

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) is the most famous teacher and compiler of knowledge in the long history of the Catholic Church. To him and to other Scholastics a comprehensive world view was the principal object of philosophy. He regarded politics, economics, art, and the other compartments of life as pieces in a total philosophical configuration, which was the "wonderful design of the Creator." His purpose was to create a synthesis of all answers to all questions with which medieval man concerned himself and to make these answers consistent. He largely shaped and articulated the business ethic of the period. In the first reading below Professor Bede Jarrett discusses the highly complex patterns of medieval secular life in terms of this ethic. The second reading is from Aquinas' Summa Theologica *and contains two examples of his economic thought.*

—What did Jarrett think was the value put on trade and commerce in medieval social theory? Could such a model be realized?

—What points of attack might St. Thomas' system suffer in a world in which feudalism was disintegrating? What besides his religious convictions could explain his economic views?

1. BEDE JARRETT: SOCIAL THEORIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES (1)

To the mediaeval mind, philosophy was justified in concerning itself with trade and commerce. These were to them practical sciences, comprised under civil science, and they were necessary to, and completed, philosophy itself. They were arts because directed by reason, and were to be copied from nature, which equally with reason was derived from God. The other Aristotelian divisions of political economy Aquinas also adopted. Thus . . . we find the art of acquiring money (*pecuniativa*) divided from the art of using money (*aeconomica*), and this distinction set between them: "The art of acquiring money is subordinate to the art of using money, not so much by way of providing material for it as by way of providing tools for it. For money and every kind of wealth are merely economic tools." Moreover this comparison and opposition are explained by taking as an example the difference between the art of making combs for the textile trade, "which is the providing of tools," and the art of preparing wool, "which is the providing of material." "Those, therefore, that abound in what is strictly speaking necessary for life are richer than those that abound in mere money."

The prime distinction, therefore, that must be borne in mind as the determining and guiding distinction in all mediaeval political and economic science is the distinction between those arts that are subordinated to another and those arts which are not. If you give an art a purpose you have given it a limitation; unless you give it a purpose it will have no limitation. This simple philosophic concept, elaborated by Aristotle, is for example the sole human argument which Aquinas urges against usury: "The art of amassing wealth which is solely concerned with money is infinite, as we can prove in this way. The desire of the end of each art is an unlimited desire, but the desire for those things which serve the purpose of the art is a limited desire, for it is limited precisely by that purpose as its rule and measure. But the object of the art of making money is merely the making of money, and to this there can be no limit. Political economy, however, which is concerned with the using of money for a definite purpose, does not seek unlimited wealth, but wealth such as shall help towards its purpose, and this purpose is the good estate of the home." For the mediaevalist, then, the whole justification of trade lay in the intention of the trader. If his prime object was to make money he was sinfully engaged in his profession; if his object was to secure enough money to live on, and to help forward the good of his neighbour, he was lawfully engaged in his profession, though further questioning would follow as to the manner in which he traded.

The pursuit of wealth had a limit, because the purpose of acquiring wealth was the good estate of the home; if it were possible for that purpose once for all to be assured, and if the good of one's neighbour or of one's nation did not otherwise demand it, trading should be given up or handed over to others. Merely to engage in commerce for the purpose of making more money was not a sufficient justification, for money should be only a means to an end. To make it an end in itself was to spoil man's life, because life thenceforward became robbed of definite purpose. This might seem a mere point of philosophic speculation without serious effect; yet its effects were definite enough and designed. The following quotations from the *Summa Moralis* of St. Antonio show how the theory was operative and not merely academic. Philosophically, in the *Summa Moralis* of St. Antonio, the idea is thus expressed: "The object of gain is that by its means man may provide for himself and others according to their state. The object of providing for himself and others is that they may be able to live virtuously. The object of a virtuous life is the attainment of everlasting glory." "If the object of the trader is principally cupidity, which is the root of all evils, then certainly his trading will be evil. But that trade (as natural and necessary for the needs of human life) is, according to Aristotle, in itself praiseworthy which serves some good purpose—i.e. supplying the needs of human life. If, therefore, the trader seeks a moderate profit for the purpose of providing for himself and family according to the condition becoming to their state of life, or to enable him to aid the poor more generously, or even if he goes into commerce for the common good (lest, for example, the State should be without what its life requires), and consequently seeks a profit not as an ultimate end but merely as a wage of labour, he cannot in that case be condemned." "To acquire by la-

bour the amount of food sufficient for preserving one's being requires only a moderate amount of time and a moderate amount of anxiety." There is undoubtedly the touch of the tranquillity of mediaeval moralizing and of its impracticability in that last phrase.

Moreover, trade as such, and work as such were considered a blessed thing. "In the first days of the Order," says the *Mirror of Perfection*, "when the friars dwelt in Rivo Torto, near Assisi, there was amongst them a certain friar who prayed well and did not work, who would not ask for alms and used to eat well. Considering these things the Bl. Francis knew by the Holy Spirit that he was a carnal man and said to him: 'Go thy way, friar fly, since thou wilt eat of the labour of thy brethren and be idle in the work of God, like a lazy and sterile drone which profiteth nothing and laboureth not, but eateth the labour and profit of the good bees.' And so he went his way. And because he was carnal, he sought not for mercy nor found it. . . ."

We can lay down as the first principle of mediaeval economics that there was a limit to money-making imposed by the purpose for which the money was made. Each worker had to keep in front of himself the aim of his life and consider the acquiring of money as a means only to an end, which at one and the same time justified and limited him. When, therefore, sufficiency had been obtained there could be no reason for continuing further efforts at getting rich, whether as merchant or beggar, except in order to help others. . . .

The second principle was that the trade or commerce must be carried on honestly and well. Ruskin quotes an inscription found in a church at Venice: "Around this temple let the merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his contracts guileless." That this was often not the case is clear from many sources. Tolomeo de Lucca observes at the end of the thirteenth century: "Victuals that are sold are often not pure and therefore have not the same nourishment value as home-grown produce." At the end of the fourteenth century, under the heading "Falsitas," John Bromyard asserts: "Scarcely does any simple or trusty person come up from the country to buy in these great cities without meeting that herb [of falsehood] ere he return home." . . .

The mediaeval thinker seems to have discerned a third principle in economics—namely, that there should be a just price at which articles should be sold, and that this just price was determinable, and should be determined, by law. . . . But it is also necessary to remember that the moralist, to whose department economics were at that time assigned, formulated his theories in the light of abstract principles of justice. He was dealing with justice, therefore had only to lay down principles. It seemed to him therefore that individuals engaged in trade were not likely to sell at the lowest price compatible with a due margin of profit, but at the highest price they could extract from the customer. It hardly entered his head to take into account competition as a factor in reducing prices, because the practice of the guilds ruled competition almost entirely out of the market. The real danger in mediaeval commerce was the formation of rings of merchants—or even one merchant—who, by buying up the whole of a commodity, could hold up to ransom the public, who must needs buy it, and yet

could only buy it from the sellers at their price. Partly then as the outcome of experience, and partly as the result of this abstract reasoning about justice, the practice grew up throughout Christendom of fixing "the just price," a legal price, beyond which, or below which, no valid sale could be effected. It was the principle of the taximeter applied to the market-place. Legislative assemblies fixed—not the railway fare, as now—but the reasonable charge to be exacted for the chief necessaries of life.

The moralists were, however, perfectly aware that the price could not really be justly fixed at an absolute figure. St. Thomas, in the thirteenth century, and St. Antonio, in the fifteenth century, both say this quite definitely. Thus, in the *Summa Theologica*: "Sometimes the just price cannot be determined absolutely (*punctualiter*), but consists rather in a common estimation, in such a way that a slight addition or diminution of price cannot be thought to destroy justice," and no less explicitly in the *Summa Moralis* of St. Antonio: "No certain rule can be given as to the amount of gain allowed, but let it be settled by the judgment of an honest man."

2. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS ON TRADE (2)

FIRST ARTICLE. WHETHER IT IS LAWFUL TO SELL A THING FOR MORE THAN ITS WORTH?

We proceed thus to the First Article:—

Objection 1. It would seem that it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth. In the commutations of human life, civil laws determine that which is just. Now according to these laws it is just for buyer and seller to deceive one another (Cod., IV., xliv., *De Rescind. Vend.* 8, 15): and this occurs by the seller selling a thing for more than its worth, and the buyer buying a thing for less than its worth. Therefore it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth.

Obj. 2. Further, That which is common to all would seem to be natural and not sinful. Now Augustine relates that the saying of a certain jester was accepted by all, *You wish to buy for a song and to sell at a premium,* which agrees with the saying of Prov. xx. 14, *It is naught, it is naught, saith every buyer: and when he is gone away, then he will boast.* Therefore it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth.

Obj. 3. Further, It does not seem unlawful if that which honesty demands be done by mutual agreement. Now, according to the Philosopher (*Ethic.* viii. 13), in the friendship which is based on utility, the amount of the recompense for a favour received should depend on the utility accruing to the receiver: and this utility sometimes is worth more than the thing given, for instance if the receiver be in great need of that thing, whether for the purpose of avoiding a danger, or of deriving some particular benefit. Therefore, in contracts of buying and selling, it is lawful to give a thing in return for more than its worth.

On the contrary, It is written (Matth. vii. 12): *All things . . . whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them.* But no man wishes

to buy a thing for more than its worth. Therefore no man should sell a thing to another man for more than its worth.

I answer that, It is altogether sinful to have recourse to deceit in order to sell a thing for more than its just price, because this is to deceive one's neighbour so as to injure him. Hence Tully says (*De Offic.* III. 15): *Contracts should be entirely free from double-dealing; the seller must not impose upon the bidder, nor the buyer upon one that bids against him.*

But, apart from fraud, we may speak of buying and selling in two ways. First, as considered in themselves, and from this point of view, buying and selling seem to be established for the common advantage of both parties, one of whom requires that which belongs to the other, and vice versa, as the Philosopher states (*Polit.* i. 3). Now whatever is established for the common advantage, should not be more of a burden to one party than to another, and consequently all contracts between them should observe equality of thing and thing. Again, the quality of a thing that comes into human use is measured by the price given for it, for which purpose money was invented, as stated in *Ethic* v. 5. Therefore if either the price exceed the quantity of the thing's worth, or, conversely, the thing exceed the price, there is no longer the equality of justice: and consequently, to sell a thing for more than its worth, or to buy it for less than its worth, is in itself unjust and unlawful.

Secondly we may speak of buying and selling, considered as accidentally tending to the advantage of one party, and to the disadvantage of the other: for instance, when a man has great need of a certain thing, while another man will suffer if he be without it. In such a case the just price will depend not only on the thing sold, but on the loss which the sale brings on the seller. And thus it will be lawful to sell a thing for more than it is worth in itself, though the price paid be not more than it is worth to the owner. Yet if the one man derive a great advantage by becoming possessed of the other man's property, and the seller be not at a loss through being without that thing, the latter ought not to raise the price, because the advantage accruing to the buyer, is not due to the seller, but to a circumstance affecting the buyer. Now no man should sell what is not his, though he may charge for the loss he suffers.

On the other hand if a man find that he derives great advantage from something he has bought, he may, of his own accord, pay the seller something over and above: and this pertains to his honesty.

* * * * *

FOURTH ARTICLE. WHETHER, IN TRADING, IT IS LAWFUL TO SELL A THING AT A HIGHER PRICE THAN WHAT WAS PAID FOR IT?

We proceed thus to the Fourth Article:—

Objection 1. It would seem that it is not lawful, in trading, to sell a thing for a higher price than we paid for it. For Chrysostom says on Matth. xxi. 12: *He that buys a thing in order that he may sell it, entire and unchanged, at a*

profit, is the trader who is cast out of God's temple. Cassiodorus speaks in the same sense in his commentary on Ps. lxx. 15, *Because I have not known learning,* or *trading* according to another version: *What is trade,* says he, *but buying at a cheap price with the purpose of retailing at a higher price?* and he adds: *Such were the tradesmen whom Our Lord cast out of the temple.* Now no man is cast out of the temple except for a sin. Therefore suchlike trading is sinful.

Obj. 2. Further, It is contrary to justice to sell goods at a higher price than their worth, or to buy them for less than their value, as shown above (A.I). Now if you sell a thing for a higher price than you paid for it, you must either have bought it for less than its value, or sell it for more than its value. Therefore this cannot be done without sin.

Obj. 3. Further, Jerome says (*Ep. ad Nepot.* lii.): *Shun, as you would the plague, a cleric who from being poor has become wealthy, or who, from being a nobody has become a celebrity.* Now trading would not seem to be forbidden to clerics except on account of its sinfulness. Therefore it is a sin in trading, to buy at a low price and to sell at a higher price.

On the contrary, Augustine commenting on Ps. lxx. 15, *Because I have not known learning,* says: *The greedy tradesman blasphemes over his losses; he lies and perjures himself over the price of his wares. But these are vices of the man, not of the craft, which can be exercised without these vices.* Therefore trading is not in itself unlawful.

I answer that, A tradesman is one whose business consists in the exchange of things. According to the Philosopher (*Polit.* i. 3), exchange of things is twofold; one, natural as it were, and necessary whereby one commodity is exchanged for another, or money taken in exchange for a commodity, in order to satisfy the needs of life. Suchlike trading, properly speaking, does not belong to tradesmen, but rather to housekeepers or civil servants who have to provide the household or the state with the necessaries of life. The other kind of exchange is either that of money for money, or of any commodity for money, not on account of the necessities of life, but for profit, and this kind of exchange, properly speaking, regards tradesmen, according to the Philosopher (*Polit.* i. 3). The former kind of exchange is commendable because it supplies a natural need: but the latter is justly deserving of blame, because, considered in itself, it satisfies the greed for gain, which knows no limit and tends to infinity. Hence trading, considered in itself, has a certain debasement attaching thereto, in so far as, by its very nature, it does not imply a virtuous or necessary end. Nevertheless gain which is the end of trading, though not implying, by its nature, anything virtuous or necessary, does not, in itself, connote anything sinful or contrary to virtue: wherefore nothing prevents gain from being directed to some necessary or even virtuous end, and thus trading becomes lawful. Thus, for instance, a man may intend the moderate gain which he seeks to acquire by trading for the upkeep of his household, or for the assistance of the needy: or again, a man may take to trade for some public advantage, for instance, lest his country lack the necessaries of life, and seek gain, not as an end, but as payment for his labour. . . .

B. The Practice

The medieval economy of the twelfth century was still predominantly non-competitive and non-expansionist. But here and there old restraints were breaking down; new instruments of banking and credit were a sign of a new economic outlook. The documents concerning the business transactions of Balduin de Campo illustrate active capitalism at the time of the Third Crusade. In the second selection the life of Godric of Finchale supplies another example of the spirit of twelfth-century capitalism. Finally, in the third selection the famous Belgian scholar Henri Pirenne reviews the capitalist character of international trade in the Middle Ages.

—What role did Balduin de Campo play in Genoese business circles? How would the Third Crusade have affected Genoese merchants?
—Characterize the transaction of May 24 as an example of business credit. How does it differ—or not differ—from today's practices?
—What bearing might this have on the problem of enforcing the medieval church rules on usury?
—Can St. Godric's pursuits in matters of money and religion be reconciled with St. Thomas' precepts?

1. GENOESE BUSINESS DOCUMENTS—TWELFTH CENTURY (3)

I. Examples of previous transactions by a certain Balduin de Campo (three out of more than a dozen such in the collection).

a. March 22, 1191. Balduin de Campo sells cloth to a draper, a native of Genoa, taking a 38-day note for 40 pounds of Genoese currency.
b. March 22, 1191. Balduin de Campo sells cloth worth 11 pounds 10 shillings of Genoese currency to a draper, taking a note for 30 days.
c. April 27, 1191. Balduin de Campo sells cloth worth 87 pounds of Genoese currency to a draper. In this case the cloth is transferred to a dyer from Lucca domiciled in Genoa to hold it and, if the draper fails to pay by June 2, to return it dyed, without cost to Balduin.

II. The transaction of May 24, 1191.

May 24, 1191. Balduin de Campo grants John de Canali an extension on a note which Balduin has held for some time. This note is evidently John de Canali's earlier agreement to pay the debt of 43 pounds of Genoese currency which William de Canali owed Balduin. The date of payment is now made elastic on the following terms:

1. If John's brother and nephew arrive with the next fleet of ships from Syria, the debt to Balduin is to be paid out of their profit within the following month.

2. If the relatives do not come with this first fleet, payment is to be postponed until one month after the next later Syrian fleet shall make port. (This fleet was expected around St. Andrew's Day, i.e., November 30.)
3. If the relatives do not come in November either, John is to pay the debt himself by Pentecost, i.e., May 24, 1192.

III. Supplementary information available in other notarial documents.

a. Balduin de Campo is Flemish. Flanders was the great center in the North for cloth production. The evidence is that de Campo travels repeatedly between Arras (in Flanders) and Genoa, although he relies on Genoese overland freight-handlers to transport his goods; in one other document he is described as a "banker."
b. John de Canali is almost certainly the son of William, and William de Canali has often received loans and credit from Balduin. Men with the de Canali surname are regularly active in the overseas trade with the Eastern Mediterranean.
c. John de Canali's contract with his brother and nephew is a partnership in which he has put up most or all of the capital, is staying at home, and will receive at least two-thirds of the profit.
d. This is the year of the great Third Crusade, and Richard the Lion-Hearted of England began his siege of Acre in June 1191.

2. A MERCHANT ADVENTURER: THE LIFE OF ST. GODRIC OF FINCHALE [TWELFTH CENTURY] (4)

This holy man's father was named Ailward, and his mother Edwenna; both of slender rank and wealth, but abundant in righteousness and virtue. They were born in Norfolk, and had long lived in the township called Walpole. . . . When the boy had passed his childish years quietly at home, then, as he began to grow to manhood, he began to follow more prudent ways of life, and to learn carefully and persistently the teachings of worldly forethought. Wherefore he chose not to follow the life of a husbandman, but rather to study, learn, and exercise the rudiments of more subtle conceptions. For this reason, aspiring to the merchant's trade, he began to follow the chapman's way of life, first learning how to gain in small bargains and things of insignificant price; and thence, while yet a youth, his mind advanced little by little to buy and sell and gain from things of greater expense. For, in his beginnings, he was wont to wander with small wares around the villages and farmsteads of his own neighbourhood; but, in the process of time, he gradually associated himself by compact with city merchants. Hence, within a brief space of time, the youth who had trudged for many weary hours from village to village, from farm to farm, did so profit by his increase of age and wisdom as to travel with associates of his own age through towns and boroughs, fortresses and cities, to fairs and to all the various booths of

the market-place, in pursuit of his public chaffer. He went along the highway, neither puffed up by the good testimony of his conscience nor downcast in the nobler part of his soul by the reproach of poverty. . . .

Yet in all things he walked with simplicity; and, in so far as he yet knew how, it was ever his pleasure to follow in the footsteps of the truth. For, having learned the Lord's Prayer and the Creed from his very cradle, he oftentimes turned them over in his mind, even as he went alone on his longer journeys; and, in so far as the truth was revealed to his mind, he clung thereunto most devoutly in all his thoughts concerning God. At first, he lived as a chapman for four years in Lincolnshire, going on foot and carrying the smallest wares; then he travelled abroad, first to St. Andrews in Scotland and then for the first time to Rome. On his return, having formed a familiar friendship with certain other young men who were eager for merchandise, he began to launch upon bolder courses and to coast frequently by sea to the foreign lands that lay around him. Thus, sailing often to and fro between Scotland and Britain, he traded in many divers wares and, amid these occupations, learned much worldly wisdom. . . . He fell into many perils of the sea, yet by God's mercy he was never wrecked; for He who had upheld St. Peter as he walked upon the waves, by that same strong right arm kept this His chosen vessel from all misfortune amid these perils. Thus, having learned by frequent experience his wretchedness amid such dangers, he began to worship certain of the saints with more ardent zeal, venerating and calling upon their shrines, and giving himself up by wholehearted service to those holy names. In such invocations his prayers were oftentimes answered by prompt consolation; some of which prayers he learned from his fellows with whom he shared these frequent perils; others he collected from faithful hearsay; others again from the custom of the place, for he saw and visited such holy places with frequent assiduity. Thus aspiring ever higher and higher, and yearning upward with his whole heart, at length his great labours and cares bore much fruit of worldly gain. For he laboured not only as a merchant but also as a shipman . . . to Denmark and Flanders and Scotland; in all which lands he found certain rare, and therefore more precious, wares, which he carried to other parts wherein he knew them to be least familiar, and coveted by the inhabitants beyond the price of gold itself; wherefore he exchanged these wares for others coveted by men of other lands; and thus he chaffered most freely and assiduously. Hence he made great profit in all his bargains, and gathered much wealth in the sweat of his brow; for he sold dear in one place the wares which he had bought elsewhere at a small price.

Then he purchased the half of a merchant-ship with certain of his partners in the trade; and again by his prudence he bought the fourth part of another ship. At length, by his skill in navigation, wherein he excelled all his fellows, he earned promotion to the post of steersman. . . .

For he was vigorous and strenuous in mind, whole of limb and strong in body. He was of middle stature, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, with a long face, grey eyes most clear and piercing, bushy brows, a broad forehead, long and open nostrils, a nose of comely curve, and a pointed chin. His beard was thick,

and longer than the ordinary, his mouth well-shaped, with lips of moderate thickness; in youth his hair was black, in age as white as snow; his neck was short and thick, knotted with veins and sinews; his legs were somewhat slender, his instep high, his knees hardened and horny with frequent kneeling; his whole skin rough beyond the ordinary, until all this roughness was softened by old age. . . . In labour he was strenuous, assiduous above all men; and, when by chance his bodily strength proved insufficient, he compassed his ends with great ease by the skill which his daily labours had given, and by a prudence born of long experience. . . . He knew, from the aspect of sea and stars, how to foretell fair or foul weather. In his various voyages he visited many saints' shrines, to whose protection he was wont most devoutly to commend himself; more especially the church of St. Andrew in Scotland, where he most frequently made and paid his vows. On the way thither, he oftentimes touched at the island of Lindisfarne, wherein St. Cuthbert had been bishop, and at the isle of Farne, where that saint had lived as an anchoret, and where St. Godric (as he himself would tell afterwards) would meditate on the saint's life with abundant tears. Thence he began to yearn for solitude, and to hold his merchandise in less esteem than heretofore. . . .

And now he had lived sixteen years as a merchant, and began to think of spending on charity, to God's honour and service, the goods which he had so laboriously acquired. He therefore took the cross as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and, having visited the Holy Sepulchre, came back to England by way of St. James [of Compostella]. Not long afterwards he became steward to a certain rich man of his own country, with the care of his whole house and household. But certain of the younger household were men of iniquity, who stole their neighbour's cattle and thus held luxurious feasts, whereat Godric, in his ignorance, was sometimes present. Afterwards, discovering the truth, he rebuked and admonished them to cease; but they made no account of his warnings; wherefore he concealed not their iniquity, but disclosed it to the lord of the household, who, however, slighted his advice. Wherefore he begged to be dismissed and went on a pilgrimage, first to St. Gilles and thence to Rome the abode of the Apostles, that thus he might knowingly pay the penalty for those misdeeds wherein he had ignorantly partaken. I have often seen him, even in his old age, weeping for this unknowing transgression. . . .

On his return from Rome, he abode awhile in his father's house; until, inflamed again with holy zeal, he purposed to revisit the abode of the Apostles and made his desire known unto his parents. Not only did they approve his purpose, but his mother besought his leave to bear him company on this pilgrimage; which he gladly granted, and willingly paid her every filial service that was her due. They came therefore to London; and they had scarcely departed from thence when his mother took off her shoes, going thus barefooted to Rome and back to London. Godric, humbly serving his parent, was wont to bear her on his shoulders. . . .

Godric, when he had restored his mother safe to his father's arms, abode but a brief while at home; for he was now already firmly purposed to give him-

self entirely to God's service. Wherefore, that he might follow Christ the more freely, he sold all his possessions and distributed them among the poor. Then, telling his parents of this purpose and receiving their blessing, he went forth to no certain abode, but whithersoever the Lord should deign to lead him; for above all things he coveted the life of a hermit.

3. PIRENNE: THE CAPITALISTIC CHARACTER OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE (5)

Scant as they are, medieval sources place the existence of capitalism in the twelfth century beyond a doubt. From that time long-distance trade unquestionably produced considerable fortunes. The case of Godric has already been quoted. The spirit which animated him was in every sense of the term the capitalistic spirit of all times. He reasoned, he calculated and his sole aim was the accumulation of profits. These are, after all, the essential characteristics of capitalism, of which a certain school of historians makes so great a mystery, but which, nevertheless, is to be met with at all periods, fundamentally the same though in differing degrees of development, because it corresponds with man's acquisitive instinct. Godric cannot have been in any way exceptional. Chance, which has preserved the story of this Scot, might equally well have furnished us with that of a Venetian or a Genoese and shown us the same facilities deployed in an environment singularly more favourable to their expansion. The real interest of Godric lies in his psychology, which was that of all merchant adventurers of his time (as his biographer specifically states). He is the type of those *nouveaux riches* who were created by commerce, first on the sea-coasts and in increasing numbers as it penetrated farther into the Continent. A large number of them could be instanced both in Italy and in Flanders before the end of the twelfth century, and there can be no more striking proof of the importance of commercial capitalism at this date, when it is remembered that only the *rari nantes** of its representatives are known to us.

As has already been shown, these capitalists, for the most part, sprang from the dregs of society, . . . who as soon as trade revived took to it with no assets but their energy and intelligence, their love of adventure and no doubt also their lack of scruples. With the aid of luck, many made their fortunes as so many colonists and freebooters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were later to make theirs. Nothing could have been more unlike the small retail dealers of the local markets than these adventurers. The sole aim of the gilds and hanses of the early Middle Ages, in which they were grouped, was to fulfil the needs of long-distance trade. From the beginning the profits of this trade were certainly very considerable. The sale of a few hundred pounds of spices or a few dozen pieces of fine cloth was all the more remunerative, in that there was as yet no competition and no market price, while at this early period the demand was certainly always greater than the supply. In these conditions, neither the cost of

* [Rare cases.]

transport nor the numerous tolls, however high they may have been, could prevent the realisation of considerable profits. In order to get rich, all that was necessary was to form an association with determined companions, to make one's way with them to lands where goods for export could be procured cheaply, and then to take these goods to places of sale. Famines, which were endemic sometimes in one region and sometimes in another, also furnished a certain opportunity of gaining a good deal with very little. People who are dying of hunger do not haggle over the price of a sack of corn and the merchants had no scruples in turning their misfortunes to account. From the beginning of the twelfth century the sources leave no doubt as to their practice of cornering grain in times of scarcity.

To take advantage of the numerous opportunities which the commerce of that period afforded, nothing was needed but the will to do so, backed by energy and intelligence. There is no warrant for believing that the precursors of the great merchants of the Middle Ages began their career with a personal fortune. We must stop thinking of them as landed proprietors risking their revenues in trade, or selling their land in order to raise the initial capital. Most of them must have built up their first capital by hiring themselves out as sailors, or dockers, or as assistants in merchant caravans. Others must have had recourse to credit, borrowing a little money from some monastery or lord in their neighbourhood. Others, again, may have begun as mercenaries and then used for trade what they had gained from pillage and rapine. The story of the large fortunes of our own day furnishes us with so many examples of the part played by chance in their foundation, that we may safely suppose it to have been the same in an age when social life lent itself even better to the intervention of luck. Consider, for example, the wealth which successful piratical expeditions must have procured for the ancestors of the Pisan and Genoese merchants. Finally, due prominence must be given to the large part played by association in providing this early mercantile capital. In the gilds and hanses purchases were made in common and in the ports ships were chartered by several copartners. In any case, though we may be ignorant of the precise way in which the first professional merchants set out on their careers, we at least know with certainty that their rise to wealth was very rapid.

Questions for Thought

Are moral teachings such as those expressed by St. Thomas on trade ineffectual, or do they achieve their purpose by influencing the form if not the spirit of the practices at which they are aimed?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Bede Jarrett, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500* (Boston, 1926), pp. 154-62. Reprinted by permission of the Newman Press.

(2) St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* Part II, trans. by the Fathers of the English

Dominican Province (London, 1929), Vol. X, Question LXXVII, "Of Cheating, which is Committed in Buying and Selling," Articles I and IV, pp. 317-20, 326-28. Reprinted by permission of Benziger Brothers, Inc. and Burns and Oates Ltd.

(3) Adapted from Robert L. Reynolds, "Merchants of Arras and the Overland Trade with Genoa—12th Century," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* IX, No. 2 (1930), 509 ff.

(4) George G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain From the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 415-16, 417-20. Reprinted by permission of The Cambridge University Press.

(5) Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe,* trans. I. E. Clegg (London, 1936), pp. 163-66. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. and Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

PART III

Three Medieval Views of Happiness

The Middle Ages is often regarded as a period of woeful ignorance during which men, enslaved by fear and superstition, lived in constant dread of damnation. This commonly-held view assumes that life was a grim and unremitting struggle and that this struggle led to fundamental agreement among medieval men on the impossibility of happiness in this life. It is in fact this agreement on otherworldly values which gave medieval life its *spiritual* and *intellectual* unity, consistency, and coherence; but, like most simple, popular images, to imagine a single-minded medieval otherworldliness ignores important facets of the period. Especially among the educated classes and especially in the late Middle Ages the evidence contradicts so oversimplified a picture of unity.

Happiness has presumably always been the goal of mankind; but opinions have differed widely on what is meant by the term. Is it bliss or delight, gaiety or contentment, enchantment, exaltation or well-being, hedonism or asceticism? Is it material or is it spiritual? In the Middle Ages, no less than in other eras, a variety of responses was given to the eternal question: Where does happiness lie? The readings below, which reveal differing attitudes toward the achievement of a happy life, suggest something of the actual complexity of the medieval world.

St. Thomas Aquinas, the brilliant architect of scholastic philosophy, represents the point of view of the orthodox cleric, whose search for happiness demanded both intellectual and spiritual participation. Aquinas arrived at his definition of happiness through a synthesis of classical rationalism, as outlined in the newly translated Latin version of Aristotle's writings, and Christian traditional knowledge, derived from faith and scriptural revelation rather than from pure reason. By this synthesis he produced a systematic philosophy for medieval Christianity which answered the questions of the medieval intellectuals about the nature of true happiness.

A second view of happiness, which appealed to another segment of medieval society, is presented in the tale of *Aucassin and Nicolette,* one of the most charming of the odes sung by the troubadours who visited the isolated courts of medieval lords to bring entertainment and news. These stories, with their intricate interweaving of prose and poetry, were composed by versatile authors who had to combine the talents of composer, poet, actor, singer, and musician and frequently courtier as well. The visit of the troubadour doubtless provided a welcome interruption in the nobles' routine of working and fighting. Tales like *Aucassin and Nicolette* both entertained the nobility and provided them

with a fictional reenforcement of their own view of happiness, a happiness that lay in this world, a world of flesh and blood and wit and war.

Another sort of happiness was extolled by the Goliards, the wandering students who traveled from university to university, perhaps studying law in Bologna or theology at Paris or medicine at Salerno, but, in the words of a contemporary, learning "manners and morals nowhere." Their poetry, at times exuberant hymns to love and at other times earthly, cynical, and irreverent praises of all the pleasures of the senses, gives insight into the lives and habits of a third group within medieval society. These students were aware of the concept of eternal happiness taught by the Churchmen, but their attitude, like that attributed to the young Augustine of Hippo in an earlier age, seems to have been, "Oh, Lord, let me be converted; but not yet!"

These three concepts of happiness rebut the popular picture of a monolithic medieval culture. But does this diversity of attitude mean that the supposed unity of Christian culture in Western Europe was really illusory? Is some sort of essential agreement visible in the views of Thomas Aquinas, *Aucassin and Nicolette,* and the Goliards on life in this world and the next? What inferences can be made about medieval society in general from the evidence contained in the three readings?

A. St. Thomas Aquinas

The following selection is an excerpt from the Summa contra Gentiles, *one of the important theological treatises written by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Aquinas was primarily concerned with an explanation of the nature of God and the universe and of man's relationship to both. In this selection he deals with the question of the nature of happiness.*

—Did Aquinas rule out the possibility of happiness on earth?
—What method did Aquinas use to arrive at his conclusions about the nature of happiness?

1. THAT MAN'S ULTIMATE HAPPINESS LIES NOT IN THIS LIFE (1)

Seeing, then, that man's ultimate happiness does not consist in that knowledge of God whereby He is known by all or many in a vague kind of opinion, nor again in that knowledge of God whereby He is known in the speculative sciences through demonstration, nor in that knowledge whereby He is known through faith, as we have proved above; and seeing that it is not possible in this life to arrive at a higher knowledge of God in His essence, or at least so that we understand other separate substances, and thus know God through

that which is nearest to Him, so to say, as we have proved; and since we must place our ultimate happiness in some kind of knowledge of God, as we have shown:—it is impossible for men's happiness to be in this life.

Again. Man's last end is the term of his natural appetite, so that when he has obtained it, he desires nothing more; because if he still has a movement towards something, he has not yet reached an end wherein to be at rest. Now this cannot happen in this life, since the more man understands, the more is the desire to understand increased in him (for this is natural to man), unless perhaps there be someone who understands all things. Now in this life this never did nor can happen to anyone that was a mere man, seeing that in this life we are unable to know separate substances * which in themselves are most intelligible, as we have proved. Therefore man's ultimate happiness cannot possibly be in this life.

Besides. Whatever is in motion towards an end has a natural desire to be established and at rest therein. Hence a body does not move away from the place towards which it has a natural movement, except by a violent movement which is contrary to that appetite. Now happiness is the last end which man naturally desires. Therefore it is his natural desire to be established in happiness. Consequently, unless together with happiness he acquires a state of immobility, he is not yet happy, since his natural desire is not yet at rest. When, therefore, a man acquires happiness, he also acquires stability and rest; so that all agree in conceiving stability as a necessary condition of happiness. Hence the philosopher [Aristotle] says: *We do not look upon the happy man as a kind of chameleon.* Now in this life there is no sure stability, since, however happy a man may be, sickness and misfortune may come upon him, so that he is hindered in the operation, whatever it be, in which happiness consists. Therefore man's ultimate happiness cannot be in this life.

Moreover. It would seem unfitting and unreasonable for a thing to take a long time in becoming, and to have but a short time in being; for it would follow that for a longer duration of time nature would be deprived of its end. Hence we see that animals which live but a short time are perfected in a short time. But if happiness consists in a perfect operation according to perfect virtue [as Aristotle argues], whether intellectual or moral, it cannot possibly come to man except after a long time. This is most evident in speculative matters, wherein man's ultimate happiness consists, as we have proved; for hardly is man able to arrive at perfection in the speculations of science, even though he reach the last stage of life, and then, in the majority of cases, but a short space of life remains to him. Therefore man's ultimate happiness cannot be in this life.

Further. All admit that happiness is a perfect good, or else it would not bring rest to the appetite. Now perfect good is that which is wholly free from any admixture of evil; just as that which is perfectly white is that which is entirely free from any admixture of black. But man cannot be wholly free from

* ["Separate substances": ideas and spiritual beings "separate" from matter (and the flesh). These were considered more real than temporal things by philosophers following Plato.]

evils in this state of life, and not only from evils of the body, such as hunger, thirst, heat, cold and the like, but also from evils of the soul. For there is no one who at times is not disturbed by inordinate passions; who sometimes does not go beyond the mean, wherein virtue consists, either in excess or in deficiency; who is not deceived in some thing or another; or who at least is not ignorant of what he would wish to know, or does not feel doubtful about an opinion of which he would like to be certain. Therefore no man is happy in this life.

Again. Man naturally shuns death, and is sad about it, not only shunning it at the moment when he feels its presence, but also when he thinks about it. But man, in this life, cannot obtain not to die. Therefore it is not possible for man to be happy in this life.

Besides. Ultimate happiness consists, not in a habit, but in an operation, since habits are for the sake of actions. But in this life it is impossible to perform any action continuously. Therefore man cannot be entirely happy in this life.

Further. The more a thing is desired and loved, the more does its loss bring sorrow and pain. Now happiness is most desired and loved. Therefore its loss brings the greatest sorrow. But if there be ultimate happiness in this life, it will certainly be lost, at least by death. Nor is it certain that it will last till death, since it is possible for every man in this life to encounter sickness, whereby he is wholly hindered from the operation of virtue, e.g., madness and the like, which hinder the use of reason. Such happiness therefore always has sorrow naturally connected with it, and consequently it will not be perfect happiness.

But someone might say that, since happiness is a good of the intellectual nature, perfect and true happiness is for those in whom the intellectual nature is perfect, namely, in separate substances, and that in man it is imperfect, and by a kind of participation. For man can arrive at a full understanding of the truth only by a sort of movement of inquiry; and he fails entirely to understand things that are by nature most intelligible, as we have proved. Therefore neither is happiness, in its perfect nature, possible to man; but he has a certain participation of it, even in this life. This seems to have been Aristotle's opinion about happiness. Hence, inquiring whether misfortunes destroy happiness, he shows that happiness seems especially to consist in deeds of virtue, which seem to be most stable in this life, and concludes that those who in this life attain to this perfection are happy *as men*, as though not attaining to happiness absolutely, but in a human way.

We must now show that this explanation does not remove the foregoing arguments. For although man is below the separate substances according to the order of nature, he is above irrational creatures, and so he attains his ultimate end in a more perfect way than they. Now these attain their last end so perfectly that they seek nothing further. Thus a heavy body rests when it is in its own proper place, and when an animal enjoys sensible pleasure, its natural desire is at rest. Much more, therefore, when man has obtained his last end, must his natural desire be at rest. But this cannot happen in this life. Therefore in this life man does not obtain happiness considered as his proper end, as we have proved. Therefore he must obtain it after this life.

Again. Natural desire cannot be empty, since *nature does nothing in vain* [as Aristotle insists]. But nature's desire would be empty if it could never be fulfilled. Therefore man's natural desire can be fulfilled. But not in this life, as we have shown. Therefore it must be fulfilled after this life. Therefore man's ultimate happiness is after this life.

Besides. As long as a thing is in motion towards perfection, it has not reached its last end. Now in the knowledge of truth all men are always in motion and tending towards perfection; because those who follow make discoveries in addition to those made by their predecessors, as is also stated in [Aristotle's] *Metaph.* ii. Therefore in the knowledge of truth man is not situated as though he had arrived at his last end. Since, then, as Aristotle himself shows, man's ultimate happiness in this life consists apparently in speculation, whereby he seeks the knowledge of truth, we cannot possibly allow that man obtains his last end in this life.

Moreover. Whatever is in potentiality tends to become actual, so that as long as it is not wholly actual, it has not reached its last end. Now our intellect is in potentiality to the knowledge of all the forms of things, and it becomes actual when it knows any one of them. Consequently, it will not be wholly actual, not in possession of its last end, except when it knows all things, at least all these material things. But man cannot obtain this through the speculative sciences, by which we know truth in this life. Therefore man's ultimate happiness cannot be in this life.

For these and like reasons, Alexander * and Averroës † held that man's ultimate happiness does not consist in that human knowledge obtained through the speculative sciences, but in that which results from a union with a separate substance, which union they deemed possible to man in this life. But as Aristotle realized that man has no knowledge in this life other than that which he obtains through the speculative sciences, he maintained that man attains to a happiness which is not perfect, but a human one.

Hence it becomes sufficiently clear how these great minds suffered from being so straitened on every side. We, however, shall be freed from these straits if we hold, in accordance with the foregoing arguments, that man is able to reach perfect happiness after this life, since man has an immortal soul; and that in that state his soul will understand in the same way as separate substances understand, as we proved in the Second Book.

Therefore man's ultimate happiness will consist in that knowledge of God which the human mind possesses after this life, a knowledge similar to that by which separate substances know him. Hence our Lord promises us a *reward . . . in heaven* (*Matt.*v.12) and states (*Matt.*xxii.30) that the saints *shall be as the angels,* who always see God in heaven (*Matt.*xviii.10).

* [Alexander of Hales (d.1245), an English Franciscan, taught theology in Paris. His *Summa Universae Theologiae* was the first important work of theology to introduce Aristotle as an authority.]

† [Averroës (1126-1198), a Spanish Moslem, was a lawyer, physician and philosopher. His most important work was his *Commentaries* on Aristotle.]

B. A Medieval Tale

Aucassin and Nicolette *was composed in Provence some time during the thirteenth century by a highly talented but anonymous troubadour. Arabic love poetry and traditional Eastern literature provided some of the inspiration for the troubadours' stories, but these foreign sources were adapted to the tastes of their Western European audiences. The plot of* Aucassin and Nicolette*—the triumph of young love over almost insurmountable odds—is certainly not unique, but the story has been called one of the masterpieces of French literature.*

—How does the story of Aucassin and Nicolette add to your knowledge of the Middle Ages?
—In what ways does the story distort reality?
—What are the author's views on the Church, the nobility, war, knighthood, honor, learning, women, peasants? Did his irreverence constitute a serious challenge to any established institution?

1. THE STORY OF AUCASSIN AND NICOLETTE (2)

Who would list to the good lay
Gladness of the captive grey?
'Tis how two young lovers met,
Aucassin and Nicolette,
Of the pains the lover bore
And the sorrows he outwore,
For the goodness and the grace,
Of his love, so fair of face.

Sweet the song, the story sweet,
There is no man hearkens it,
No man living 'neath the sun,
So outwearied, so foredone,
Sick and woful, worn and sad,
But is healed, but is glad
'Tis so sweet.

So say they, speak they, tell they the Tale: How the Count Bougars de Valence made war on Count Garin de Biaucaire, war so great, and so marvellous and so mortal that never a day dawned, but always he was there, by the gates and walls, and barriers of the town with a hundred knights, and ten thousand men at arms, horsemen and footmen: so burned he the Count's land, and spoiled his country, and slew his men. Now the Count Garin de Biaucaire was old and frail, and his good days were gone over. No heir had he, neither son nor daughter, save one young man only; such an one as I shall tell you. Aucassin was the name of the

damoiseau: fair was he, goodly, and great, and featly fashioned of his body, and limbs. His hair was yellow, in little curls, his eyes blue and laughing, his face beautiful and shapely, his nose high and well set, and so richly seen was he in all things good, that in him was none evil at all. But so suddenly overtaken was he of Love, who is a great master, that he would not, of his will, be dubbed knight, nor take arms, nor follow tourneys, nor do whatsoever him beseemed. Therefore his father and mother said to him;

"Son, go take thine arms, mount thy horse, and hold thy land, and help thy men, for if they see thee among them more stoutly will they keep in battle their lives, and lands, and thine, and mine."

"Father," said Aucassin, "I marvel that you will be speaking. Never may God give me aught of my desire if I be made knight, or mount my horse, or face stour and battle wherein knights smite and are smitten again, unless thou give me Nicolette, my true love, that I love so well."

"Son," said the father, "this may not be. Let Nicolette go, a slave girl she is, out of a strange land, and the captain of this town bought her of the Saracens, and carried her hither, and hath reared her and let christen the maid, and took her for his daughter in God, and one day will find a young man for her, to win her bread honourably. Herein hast thou naught to make or mend, but if a wife thou wilt have, I will give thee the daughter of a King, or a Count. There is no man so rich in France, but if thou desire his daughter, thou shalt have her."

"Faith! my father," said Aucassin, "tell me where is the place so high in all the world, that Nicolette, my sweet lady and love, would not grace it well? If she were Empress of Constantinople or of Germany, or Queen of France or England, it were little enough for her; so gentle is she and courteous, and debonaire, and compact of all good qualities." . . .

When the Count Garin de Biaucaire knew that he would not avail to withdraw Aucassin his son from the love of Nicolette, he went to the Captain of the city, who was his man, and spake to him saying:

"Sir Count; away with Nicolette thy daughter in God; cursed be the land whence she was brought into this country, for by reason of her do I lose Aucassin, that will neither be dubbed knight, nor do aught of the things that fall to him to be done. And wit ye well," he said, "that if I might have her at my will, I would burn her in a fire, and yourself might well be sore adread." . . .

So parted they each from other. Now the Captain was a right rich man: so had he a rich palace with a garden in face of it; in an upper chamber thereof he let place Nicolette, with one old woman to keep her company, and in that chamber put bread and meat and wine and such things as were needful. Then he let seal the door, that none might come in or go forth, save that there was one window, over against the garden, and strait enough, where through came to them a little air.

Here singeth one:

Nicolette as ye heard tell
Prisoned is within a cell

That is painted wondrously
With colours of a far countrie,
And the window of marble wrought,
There the maiden stood in thought,
With straight brows and yellow hair
Never saw ye fairer fair!
On the wood she gazed below,
And she saw the roses blow,
Heard the birds sing loud and low,
Therefore spoke she wofully:
"Ah me, wherefore do I lie
Here in prison wrongfully:
Aucassin, my love, my knight,
Am I not thy heart's delight,
Thou that lovest me aright!
'T is for thee that I must dwell
In the vaulted chamber cell,
Hard beset and all alone!
By our Lady Mary's Son
Here no longer will I wonn,
If I may flee!"

Then speak they, say they, tell they the Tale:

Nicolette was in prison, as ye have heard soothly, in the chamber. And the noise and bruit of it went through all the country and all the land, how that Nicolette was lost. Some said she had fled the country, and some that the Count Garin de Biaucaire had let slay her. Whosoever had joy thereof, Aucassin had none, so he went to the Captain of the town and spake to him, saying:

"Sir Captain, what hast thou made of Nicolette, my sweet lady and love, the thing that best I love in all the world? Hast thou carried her off or ravished her away from me? Know well that if I die of it, the price shall be demanded of thee, and that will be well done, for it shall be even as if thou hadst slain me with thy two hands, for thou hast taken from me the thing that in this world I loved the best."

"Fair Sir," said the Captain, "let these things be. Nicolette is a captive that I did bring from a strange country. Yea, I bought her at my own charges of the Saracens, and I bred her up and baptised her, and made her my daughter in God. And I have cherished her, and one of these days I would have given her a young man, to win her bread honourably. With this hast thou naught to make, but do thou take the daughter of a King or a Count. Nay more, what wouldst thou deem thee to have gained, hadst thou made her thy leman, and taken her to thy bed? Plentiful lack of comfort hadst thou got thereby, for in Hell would thy soul have lain while the world endures, and into Paradise wouldst thou have entered never."

"In Paradise what have I to win? Therein I seek not to enter, but only to

have Nicolette, my sweet lady that I love so well. For into Paradise go none but such folk as I shall tell thee now: Thither go these same old priests, and halt old men and maimed, who all day and night cower continually before the altars, and in the crypts; and such folk as wear old amices and old clouted frocks, and naked folk and shoeless, and covered with sores, perishing of hunger and thirst, and of cold, and of little ease. These be they that go into Paradise, with them have I naught to make. But into Hell would I fain go; for into Hell fare the goodly clerks, and goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men at arms, and all men noble. With these would I liefly go. And thither pass the sweet ladies and courteous that have two lovers, or three, and their lords also thereto. Thither goes the gold, and the silver, and cloth of vair, and cloth of gris, and harpers, and makers, and the princes of this world. With these I would gladly go, let me but have with me, Nicolette, my sweetest lady."

"Certes," quoth the Captain, "in vain wilt thou speak thereof, for never shalt thou see her; and if thou hadst word with her, and thy father knew it, he would let burn in a fire both her and me, and thyself might well be sore adread."

"That is even what irketh me," quoth Aucassin. So he went from the Captain sorrowing. . . .

While Aucassin was in the chamber sorrowing for Nicolette his love, even then the Count Bougars de Valence, that had his war to wage, forgat it no whit, but had called up his horsemen and his footmen, so made he for the castle to storm it. And the cry of battle arose, and the din, and knights and men at arms busked them, and ran to walls and gates to hold the keep. And the towns-folk mounted to the battlements, and cast down bolts, and pikes. Then while the assault was great, and even at its height, the Count Garin de Biaucaire came into the chamber where Aucassin was making lament, sorrowing for Nicolette, his sweet lady that he loved so well.

"Ha! son," quoth he, "how caitiff art thou, and cowardly, that canst see men assail thy goodliest castle and strongest. Know thou that if thou lose it, thou losest all. Son, go to, take arms, and mount thy horse, and defend thy land, and help thy men, and fare into the stour. Thou needest not smite nor be smitten. If they do but see thee among them, better will they guard their substance, and their lives, and thy land and mine. And thou art so great, and hardy of thy hands, that well mightst thou do this thing, and to do it is thy devoir."

"Father," said Aucassin, "what is this thou sayest now? God grant me never aught of my desire, if I be dubbed knight, or mount steed, or go into the stour where knights do smite and are smitten, if thou givest me not Nicolette, my sweet lady, whom I love so well."

"Son," quoth his father, "this may never be: rather would I be quite disinherited and lose all that is mine, than that thou shouldst have her to thy wife, or to love *par amours*."

So he turned him about. But when Aucassin saw him going he called to him again, saying,

"Father, go to now, I will make with thee fair covenant."

"What covenant, fair son?"

"I will take up arms, and go into the stour, on this covenant, that, if God bring me back sound and safe, thou wilt let me see Nicolette my sweet lady, even so long that I may have of her two words or three, and one kiss."

"That will I grant," said his father.

At this was Aucassin glad.

Here one singeth:

Of the kiss heard Aucassin
That returning he shall win
None so glad would he have been
Of a myriad marks of gold
Of a hundred thousand told.
Called for rainment brave of steel,
Then they clad him, head to heel,
Twofold hauberk doth he don,
Firmly braced the helmet on.
Girt the sword with hilt of gold,
Horse doth mount, and lance doth wield,
Looks to stirrups and to shield,
Wondrous brave he rode to field.
Dreaming of his lady dear
Setteth spurs to the destrere
Rideth forward without fear,
Through the gate and forth away
To the fray. . . .

[Aucassin, preoccupied with thoughts of Nicolette, was temporarily overcome by the enemy.]

The Count Bougars de Valence heard say that they were about hanging Aucassin, his enemy, so he came into that place, and Aucassin was ware of him, and gat his sword into his hand, and lashed at his helm with such a stroke that he drave it down on his head, and he being stunned, fell grovelling. And Aucassin laid hands on him, and caught him by the *nasal* of his helmet, and gave him to his father.

"Father," quoth Aucassin, "lo here is your mortal foe, who hath so warred on you with all malengin. Full twenty years did this war endure, and might not be ended by man."

"Fair son," said his father, "thy feats of youth shouldst thou do, and not seek after folly."

"Father," saith Aucassin, "sermon me no sermons, but fulfil my covenant."

"Ha! what covenant, fair son?"

"What, father, hast thou forgotten it? By mine own head, whosoever forgets, will I not forget it, so much it hath me at heart. Didst thou not covenant with me when I took up arms, and went into the stour, that if God brought me back

safe and sound, thou wouldst let me see Nicolette, my sweet lady, even so long that I may have of her two words or three, and one kiss? So didst thou covenant, and my mind is that thou keep thy word."

"I!" quoth the father, "God forsake me when I keep this covenant! Nay, if she were here, I would let burn her in the fire, and thyself shouldst be sore adread."

"Is this thy last word?" quoth Aucassin.

"So help me God," quoth his father, "yea!"

"Certes," quoth Aucassin, "this is a sorry thing meseems when a man of thine age lies!"

"Count of Valence," quoth Aucassin, "I took thee?"

"In sooth, sir, didst thou," saith the Count.

"Give me thy hand," saith Aucassin.

"Sir, with good will."

So he set his hand in the other's.

"Now givest thou me thy word," saith Aucassin, "that never whiles thou art living man wilt thou avail to do my father dishonour, or harm him in body, or in goods, but do it thou wilt?"

"Sir, in God's name," saith he, "mock me not, but put me to my ransom; ye cannot ask of me gold nor silver, horses nor palfreys, *vair* nor *gris,* hawks nor hounds, but I will give you them."

"What?" quoth Aucassin. "Ha, knowest thou not it was I that took thee?"

"Yea, sir," quoth the Count Bougars.

"God help me never, but I will make thy head fly from thy shoulders, if thou makest not troth," said Aucassin.

"In God's name," said he, "I make what promise thou wilt."

So they did the oath, and Aucassin let mount him on a horse, and took another and so led him back till he was in all safety.

Here one singeth:

When the Count Garin doth know
That his child would ne'er forego
Love of her that loved him so,
Nicolette, the bright of brow,
In a dungeon deep below
Childe Aucassin did he throw.
Even there the Childe must dwell
In a dun-walled marble cell.
There he waileth in his woe
Crying thus as ye shall know.
"Nicolette, thou lily white,
My sweet lady, bright of brow,
Sweeter than the grape art thou,
Sweeter than sack posset good
In a cup of maple wood!

Was it not but yesterday
That a palmer came this way,
Out of Limousin came he,
And at ease he might not be,
For a passion him possessed
That upon his bed he lay,
Lay, and tossed, and knew not rest
In his pain discomforted.
But thou camest by the bed,
Where he tossed amid his pain,
Holding high thy sweeping train,
And thy kirtle of ermine,
And thy smock of linen fine,
Then these fair white limbs of thine,
Did he look on, and it fell
That the palmer straight was well,
Straight was hale—and comforted,
And he rose up from his bed,
And went back to his own place,
Sound and strong, and full of face! . . .

Aucassin was cast into prison as ye have heard tell, and Nicolette, of her part, was in the chamber. Now it was summer time, the month of May, when days are warm, and long, and clear, and the night still and serene. Nicolette lay one night on her bed, and saw the moon shine clear through a window, yea, and heard the nightingale sing in the garden, so she minded her of Aucassin her lover whom she loved so well. Then fell she to thoughts of Count Garin de Biaucaire, that hated her to the death; therefore deemed she that there she would no longer abide, for that, if she were told of, and the Count knew whereas she lay, an ill death would he make her die. Now she knew that the old woman slept who held her company. Then she arose, and clad her in a mantle of silk she had by her, very goodly, and took napkins, and sheets of the bed, and knotted one to the other, and made therewith a cord as long as she might, so knitted it to a pillar in the window, and let herself slip down into the garden, then caught up her raiment in both hands, behind and before, and kilted up her kirtle, because of the dew that she saw lying deep on the grass, and so went her way down through the garden.

Her locks were yellow and curled, her eyes blue and smiling, her face featly fashioned, the nose high and fairly set, the lips more red than cherry or rose in time of summer, her teeth white and small; her breasts so firm that they bore up the folds of her bodice as they had been two apples; so slim she was in the waist that your two hands might have clipped her, and the daisy flowers that brake beneath her as she went tip-toe, and that bent above her instep, seemed black against her feet, so white was the maiden. She came to the postern gate, and unbarred it, and went out through the streets of Biaucaire, keeping always on

the shadowy side, for the moon was shining right clear, and so wandered she till she came to the tower where her lover lay. The tower was flanked with buttresses, and she cowered under one of them, wrapped in her mantle. Then thrust she her head through a crevice of the tower that was old and worn, and so heard she Aucassin wailing within, and making dole and lament for the sweet lady he loved so well. And when she had listened to him she began to say;

Here one singeth:

Nicolette the bright of brow
On a pillar leanest thou,
All Aucassin's wail dost hear
For his love that is so dear,
Then thou spakest, shrill and clear,
"Gentle knight withouten fear
Little good befalleth thee,
Little help of sigh or tear,
Ne'er shalt thou have joy of me.
Never shalt thou win me; still
Am I held in evil will
Of thy father and thy kin,
Therefore must I cross the sea,
And another land must win."
Then she cut her curls of gold,
Cast them in the dungeon hold,
Aucassin doth clasp them there,
Kissed the curls that were so fair,
Them doth in his bosom bear,
Then he wept, even as of old,
All for his love!

Then say they, speak they, tell they the Tale:

When Aucassin heard Nicolette say that she would pass into a far country, he was all in wrath.

"Fair sweet friend," quoth he, "thou shalt not go, for then wouldst thou be my death. And the first man that saw thee and had the might withal, would take thee straightway into his bed to be his leman. And once thou camest into a man's bed, and that bed not mine, wit ye well that I would not tarry till I had found a knife to pierce my heart and slay myself. Nay, verily, wait so long I would not: but would hurl myself on it so soon as I could find a wall, or a black stone, thereon would I dash my head so mightily, that the eyes would start, and my brain burst. Rather would I die even such a death, than know thou hadst lain in a man's bed, and that bed not mine."

"Aucassin," she said, "I trow thou lovest me not as much as thou sayest, but I love thee more than thou lovest me."

"Ah, fair sweet friend," said Aucassin, "it may not be that thou shouldst love me even as I love thee. Woman may not love man as man loves woman, for

a woman's love lies in the glance of her eye, and the bud of her breast, and her foot's tip-toe, but the love of man is in his heart planted, whence it can never issue forth and pass away."

Now while Aucassin and Nicolette held this parley together, the town's guards came down a street, with swords drawn beneath their cloaks, for the Count Garin had charged them that if they could take her they should slay her. But the sentinel that was on the tower saw them coming, and heard them speaking of Nicolette as they went, and threatening to slay her.

"God!" quoth he, "this were great pity to slay so fair a maid! Right great charity it were if I could say aught to her, and they perceive it not, and she should be on her guard against them, for if they slay her, then were Aucassin, my damoiseau, dead, and that were great pity. . . ."

"Ha!" quoth Nicolette, "be the soul of thy father and the soul of thy mother in the rest of Paradise, so fairly and so courteously hast thou spoken me! Please God, I will be right ware of them, God keep me out of their hands."

So she shrank under her mantle into the shadow of the pillar till they had passed by, and then took she farewell of Aucassin, and so fared till she came unto the castle wall. Now that wall was wasted and broken, and some deal mended, so she clomb thereon till she came down between wall and fosse, and so looked down, and saw that the fosse was deep and steep, whereat she was sore adread.

"Ah God," saith she, "sweet Saviour! If I let myself fall hence, I shall break my neck, and if here I abide, to-morrow they will take me, and burn me in a fire. Yet liefer would I perish here than that to-morrow the folk should stare on me for a gazing-stock."

Then she crossed herself, and so let herself slip into the fosse, and when she had come to the bottom, her fair feet, and fair hands that had not custom thereof, were bruised and frayed, and the blood springing from a dozen places, yet felt she no pain nor hurt, by reason of the great dread wherein she went. But if she were in cumber to win there, in worse was she to win out. But she deemed that there to abide was of none avail, and she found a pike sharpened, that they of the city had thrown out to keep the hold. Therewith made she one stepping place after another, till, with much travail, she climbed the wall. Now the forest lay within two crossbow shots, and the forest was of thirty leagues this way and that. Therein also were wild beasts, and beasts serpentine, and she feared that if she entered there they would slay her. But anon she deemed that if men found her there they would hale her back into the town to burn her. . . .

Nicolette made great moan, as ye have heard; then commended she herself to God, and anon fared till she came unto the forest. But to go deep in it she dared not, by reason of the wild beasts, and beasts serpentine. Anon crept she into a little thicket, where sleep came upon her, and she slept till prime next day, when the shepherds issued forth from the town and drove their bestial between wood and water. Anon came they all into one place by a fair fountain which was on the fringe of the forest, thereby spread they a mantle, and thereon set bread. So while they were eating, Nicolette wakened, with the sound of the

singing birds, and the shepherds, and she went unto them, saying, "Fair boys, our Lord keep you!"

"God bless thee," quoth he that had more words to his tongue than the rest.

"Fair boys," quoth she, "know ye Aucassin, the son of Count Garin de Biaucaire?"

"Yea, well we know him."

"So may God help you, fair boys," quoth she, "tell him there is a beast in this forest, and bid him come chase it, and if he can take it, he would not give one limb thereof for a hundred marks of gold, nay, nor for five hundred, nor for any ransom."

Then looked they on her, and saw her so fair that they were all astonished.

"Will I tell him thereof?" quoth he that had more words to his tongue than the rest; "foul fall him who speaks of the thing or tells him the tidings. These are but visions ye tell of, for there is no beast so great in this forest, stag, nor lion, nor boar, that one of his limbs is worth more than two deniers, or three at the most, and ye speak of such great ransom. Foul fall him that believes your word, and him that telleth Aucassin. Ye be a Fairy, and we have none liking for your company, nay, hold on your road."

"Nay, fair boys," quoth she, "nay, ye will do my bidding. For this beast is so mighty of medicine that thereby will Aucassin be healed of his torment. And lo! I have five sols in my purse, take them, and tell him: for within three days must he come hunting it hither, and if within three days he find it not, never will he be healed of his torment."

"My faith," quoth he, "the money will we take, and if he come hither we will tell him, but seek him we will not."

"In God's name," quoth she; and so took farewell of the shepherds, and went her way. . . .

[Nicolette built a lodge of leaves in the forest and prepared to wait for Aucassin.]

So lay she hard by the lodge in a deep coppice to know what Aucassin will do. And the cry and the bruit went abroad through all the country and all the land, that Nicolette was lost. Some told that she had fled, and some that the Count Garin had let slay her. Whosoever had joy thereof, no joy had Aucassin. And the Count Garin, his father, had taken him out of prison, and had sent for the knights of that land, and the ladies, and let make a right great feast, for the comforting of Aucassin his son. Now at the high time of the feast, was Aucassin leaning from a gallery, all woful and discomforted. Whatsoever men might devise of mirth, Aucassin had no joy thereof, nor no desire, for he saw not her that he loved. Then a knight looked on him, and came to him, and said:

"Aucassin, of that sickness of thine have I been sick, and good counsel will I give thee, if thou wilt hearken to me—"

"Sir," said Aucassin, "gramercy, good counsel would I fain hear."

"Mount thy horse," quoth he, "and go take thy pastime in yonder forest, there wilt thou see the good flowers and grass, and hear the sweet birds sing. Perchance thou shalt hear some word, whereby thou shalt be the better."

"Sir," quoth Aucassin, "gramercy, that will I do."

He passed out of the hall, and went down the stairs, and came to the stable where his horse was. He let saddle and bridle him, and mounted, and rode forth from the castle, and wandered till he came to the forest, so rode till he came to the fountain and found the shepherds at point of noon. And they had a mantle stretched on the grass, and were eating bread, and making great joy.

Here one singeth:

There were gathered shepherds all,
Martin, Esmeric, and Hal,
Aubrey, Robin, great and small.
Saith the one, "Good fellows all,
God keep Aucassin the fair,
And the maid with yellow hair,
Bright of brow and eyes of vair.
She that gave us gold to ware.
Cakes therewith to buy ye know,
Goodly knives and sheaths also.
Flutes to play, and pipes to blow,
May God him heal!"

Here speak they, say they, tell they the Tale:

When Aucassin heard the shepherds, anon he bethought him of Nicolette, his sweet lady he loved so well, and he deemed that she had passed thereby; then set he spurs to his horse, and so came to the shepherds.

"Fair boys, God be with you."

"God bless you," quoth he that had more words to his tongue than the rest.

"Fair boys," quoth Aucassin, "say the song again that anon ye sang."

"Say it we will not," quoth he that had more words to his tongue than the rest; "foul fall him who will sing it again for you, fair sir!"

"Fair boys," quoth Aucassin, "know ye me not?"

"Yea, we know well that you are Aucassin, our damoiseau, natheless we be not your men, but the Count's."

"Fair boys, yet sing it again, I pray you."

"Hearken! by the Holy Heart," quoth he, "wherefore should I sing for you, if it likes me not? Lo, there is no such rich man in this country, saving the body of Garin the Count, that dare drive forth my oxen, or my cows, or my sheep, if he finds them in his fields, or his corn, lest he lose his eyes for it, and wherefore should I sing for you, if it likes me not?"

"God be your aid, fair boys, sing it ye will, and take ye these ten sols I have here in a purse."

"Sir, the money will we take, but never a note will I sing, for I have given my oath, but I will tell thee a plain tale, if thou wilt."

"By God," saith Aucassin, "I love a plain tale better than naught."

"Sir, we were in this place, a little time agone, between prime and tierce, and were eating our bread by this fountain, even as now we do, and a maid came past, the fairest thing in the world, whereby we deemed that she should be a fay, and all the wood shone round about her. Anon she gave us of that she had, whereby we made covenant with her, that if ye came hither we would bid you hunt in this forest, wherein is such a beast that, an ye might take him, ye would not give one limb of him for five hundred marks of silver, nor for no ransom; for this beast is so mighty of medicine, that, an ye could take him, ye should be healed of your torment, and within three days must ye take him, and if ye take him not then, never will ye look on him. So chase ye the beast, and ye will, or an ye will let be, for my promise have I kept with her."

"Fair boys," quoth Aucassin, "ye have said enough. God grant me to find this quarry." . . .

Aucassin fared through the forest from path to path after Nicolette, and his horse bare him furiously. Think ye not that the thorns him spared, nor the briars, nay, not so, but tare his raiment, that scarce a knot might be tied with the soundest part thereof, and the blood sprang from his arms, and flanks, and legs, in forty places, or thirty, so that behind the Childe men might follow on the track of his blood in the grass. But so much he went in thoughts of Nicolette, his lady sweet, that he felt no pain nor torment, and all the day hurled through the forest in this fashion nor heard no word of her. And when he saw Vespers draw nigh, he began to weep for that he found her not. All down an old road, and grassgrown he fared, when anon, looking along the way before him, he saw such an one as I shall tell you. Tall was he, and great of growth, laidly and marvellous to look upon: his head huge, and black as charcoal, and more than the breadth of a hand between his two eyes, and great cheeks, and a big nose and broad, big nostrils and ugly, and thick lips redder than a collop, and great teeth yellow and ugly, and he was shod with hosen and shoon of bull's hide, bound with cords of bark over the knee, and all about him a great cloak twy-fold, and he leaned on a grievous cudgel, and Aucassin came unto him, and was afraid when he beheld him.

"Fair brother, God aid thee."

"God bless you," quoth he.

"As God he helpeth thee, what makest thou here?"

"What is that to thee?"

"Nay, naught, naught," said Aucassin; "I ask but out of courtesy."

"But for whom weepest thou," quoth he, "and makest such heavy lament? Certes, were I as rich a man as thou, the whole world should not make me weep."

"Ha, know ye me?" saith Aucassin.

"Yea, I know well that ye be Aucassin, the son of the Count, and if ye tell me for why ye weep, then will I tell you what I make here."

"Certes," quoth Aucassin, "I will tell you right gladly. Hither came I this morning to hunt in this forest; and with me a white hound, the fairest in the world; him have I lost, and for him I weep."

"By the Heart our Lord bare in his breast," quoth he, "are ye weeping for

a stinking hound? Foul fall him that holds thee high henceforth! for there is no such rich man in the land, but if thy father asked it of him, he would give thee ten, or fifteen, of twenty, and be the gladder for it. But I have cause to weep and make dole."

"Wherefore so, brother?"

"Sir, I will tell thee. I was hireling to a rich villain, and drove his plough; four oxen had he. But three days since came on me great misadventure, whereby I lost the best of mine oxen, Roger, the best of my team. Him go I seeking, and have neither eaten nor drunken these three days, nor may I go to the town, lest they cast me into prison, seeing that I have not wherewithal to pay. Out of all the wealth of the world have I no more than you see on my body. A poor mother bare me, that had no more but one wretched bed; this have they taken from under her, and she lies in the very straw. This ails me more than mine own case, for wealth comes and goes; if now I have lost, another tide will I gain, and will pay for mine ox whenas I may; never for that will I weep. But you weep for a stinking hound. Foul fall whoso thinks well of thee!"

"Certes thou art a good comforter, brother, blessed be thou! And of what price was thine ox?"

"Sir they ask me twenty sols for him, whereof I cannot abate one doit."

"Nay, then," quoth Aucassin, "take these twenty sols I have in my purse, and pay for thine ox."

"Sir," saith he, "gramercy. And God give thee to find that thou seekest."

So they parted each from other, and Aucassin rode on: the night was fair and still, and so long he went that he came to the lodge of boughs, that Nicolette had builded and woven within and without, over and under, with flowers, and it was the fairest lodge that might be seen. When Aucassin was ware of it, he stopped suddenly, and the light of the moon fell therein.

"God!" quoth Aucassin, "here was Nicolette, my sweet lady, and this lodge builded she with her fair hands. For the sweetness of it, and for love of her, will I alight, and rest here this night long."

He drew forth his foot from the stirrup to alight, and the steed was great and tall. He dreamed so much on Nicolette his right sweet lady, that he slipped on a stone, and drave his shoulder out of his place. Then knew he that he was hurt sore, natheless he bore him with what force he might, and fastened with the other hand the mare's son to a thorn. Then turned he on his side, and crept backwise into the lodge of boughs. . . .

When Nicolette heard Aucassin, right so came she unto him, for she was not far away. She passed within the lodge, and threw her arms about his neck, and clipped and kissed him.

"Fair sweet friend, welcome be thou."

"And thou, fair sweet love, be thou welcome."

So either kissed and clipped the other, and fair joy was them between.

"Ha! sweet love," quoth Aucassin, "but now was I sore hurt, and my shoulder wried, but I take no force of it, nor have no hurt therefrom since I have thee."

Right so felt she his shoulder and found it was wried from its place. And she so handled it with her white hands, and so wrought in her surgery, that by God's will who loveth lovers, it went back into its place. Then took she flowers, and fresh grass, and leaves green, and bound these herbs on the hurt with a strip of her smock, and he was all healed.

"Aucassin," saith she, "fair sweet love, take counsel what thou wilt do. If thy father let search this forest to-morrow, and men find me here, they will slay me, come to thee what will."

"Certes, fair sweet love, therefore should I sorrow heavily, but, an if I may, never shall they take thee."

Anon gat he on his horse, and his lady before him, kissing and clipping her, and so rode they at adventure. . . .

[Aucassin and Nicolette escaped successfully and embarked upon a further series of adventures. After three years had passed the young lovers were captured by pirates and separated. The ship in which Aucassin was riding foundered in a storm near the coast of his old home, and Aucassin was washed ashore to find his father dead and himself now the lord of Biaucaire and his own master. In the meantime Nicolette was taken to the city of Carthage.]

Now leave we Aucassin, and speak we of Nicolette. The ship wherein she was cast pertained to the King of Carthage, and he was her father, and she had twelve brothers, all princes or kings. When they beheld Nicolette, how fair she was, they did her great worship, and made much joy of her, and many times asked her who she was, for surely seemed she a lady of noble line and high parentry. But she might not tell them of her lineage, for she was but a child when men stole her away. So sailed they till they won the City of Carthage, and when Nicolette saw the walls of the castle, and the country-side, she knew that there had she been nourished and thence stolen away, being but a child. Yet was she not so young a child but that well she knew she had been daughter of the King of Carthage; and of her nurture in that city. . . .

When all they of the court heard her speak thus, they knew well that she spake sooth: so made they great joy of her, and led her to the castle in great honour, as the King's daughter. And they would have given her to her lord a King of Paynim, but she had no mind to marry. There dwelt she three days or four. And she considered by what means she might seek for Aucassin. Then she got her a viol, and learned to play on it, till they would have married her on a day to a great King of Paynim, and she stole forth by night, and came to the seaport, and dwelt with a poor woman thereby. Then took she a certain herb, and therewith smeared her head and her face, till she was all brown and stained. And she let make coat, and mantle, and smock, and hose, and attired herself as if she had been a harper. So took she the viol and went to a mariner, and so wrought on him that he took her aboard his vessel. Then hoisted they sail, and fared on the high seas even till they came to the land of Provence. And

Nicolette went forth and took the viol, and went playing through all that country, even till she came to the castle of Biaucaire, where Aucassin lay. . . .

And she . . . went into the city to the house of the Captain's wife, for the Captain her father in God was dead. So she dwelt there, and told all her tale; and the Captain's wife knew her, and knew well that she was Nicolette that herself had nourished. Then she let wash and bathe her, and there rested she eight full days. Then took she an herb that was named Eyebright and anointed herself therewith, and was as fair as ever she had been all the days of her life. Then she clothed herself in rich robes of silk whereof the lady had great store, and then sat herself in the chamber on a silken coverlet, and called the lady and bade her go and bring Aucassin her love, and she did even so. And when she came to the Palace she found Aucassin weeping, and making lament for Nicolette his love, for that she delayed so long. And the lady spake unto him and said:

"Aucassin, sorrow no more, but come thou on with me, and I will shew thee the thing in the world that thou lovest best; even Nicolette thy dear love, who from far lands hath come to seek of thee." And Aucassin was right glad.

Here singeth one:

When Aucassin heareth now
That his lady bright of brow
Dwelleth in his own countrie,
Never man was glad as he.
To her castle doth he hie
With the lady speedily,
Passeth to the chamber high,
Findeth Nicolette thereby.
Of her true love found again
Never maid was half so fain.
Straight she leaped upon her feet:
When his love he saw at last,
Arms about her did he cast.
Kissed her often, kissed her sweet,
Kissed her lips and brows and eyes.
Thus all night do they devise,
Even till the morning white.
Then Aucassin wedded her,
Made her Lady of Biaucaire.
Many years abode they there,
Many years in shade or sun,
In great gladness and delight.
Ne'er hath Aucassin regret
Nor his lady Nicolette.
Now my story all is done,
Said and sung!

C. Goliardic Verse

The three poems printed below were written by wandering scholars of Medieval Europe, often called the Goliards after their mythical patron saint whom they called Golias. The first of these selections, "The Confessions of Golias" (Estuans intrinsecus) *is attributed to the twelfth-century "Archpoet of Cologne," a knight in the entourage of Rainald von Dassel, Archbishop-elect of Cologne in the 1160's. This poem is one of the earliest of the Goliardic verses and combines the paganism and satirical approach that characterize Goliardic poetry. The other two selections, "Time for Gladness"* (Tempus hoc letitie) *and "Pastime with Good Company"* (In taberna quando sumus) *are taken from a collection of poems found in a manuscript in the library of a Bavarian monastery and first printed in 1847. The poems in that collection now constitute the main source of Goliardic poetry.*

—Was the Archpoet of Cologne aware of the view of happiness taught by the medieval scholastics?
—How does the author of "Pastime with Good Company" satirize medieval values?
—How does the attitude toward women in this poetry compare with the attitude revealed by *Aucassin and Nicolette?* Why this difference?

1. THE CONFESSION OF GOLIAS (3)

Like a hapless ship I fare
Left without a sailor,
Like a bird on ways of air,
Some poor lost cloud-scaler;
Not a jot for chains I care,
Nor for key nor jailer.
Sinful flesh is frail, I swear.
Mine's the same—but frailer!

Dull and dour sobriety
Never takes my money,
Give me loose society
Where the jokes are funny;
Love will bring variety,
Toil that's sweet as honey.
Pillars of propriety,
Have you hearts as sunny?

Down the primrose path I post
Straight to Satan's grotto,
Shunning virtue, doing most
Things that I ought not to;

Little hope of heaven I boast,
Charmed by pleasure's otto:
Since the soul is bound to roast
Save the skin's my motto.

Hear me, prelate most discreet,
For indulgence crying:
Deadly sin I find so sweet
I'm in love with dying;
Every pretty girl I meet
Sets my heart a-sighing:
Hands off! ah, but in conceit
In her arms I'm lying.

Much too hard it is, I find,
So to change my essence
As to keep a virgin mind
In a virgin's presence.
Rigid laws can never bind
Youth to acquiescence;
Light o'loves must seek their kind,
Bodies take their pleasance.

2. TIME FOR GLADNESS (3)

Time for gladness, time for play,
Holiday we keep today:
Let the fiddle sound the strain,
Sing the good old songs again,
Hearts must beat in time with voices
Till the dancing blood rejoices;
Come, you scholars, most of all
Who best love a festival.
Pen and ink and copy-book,
How funereal they look;
Ovid's songs, how dull with age,
Still more any other's page.
Never mind what's not allowed,
Love is youth's temptation:
Here we go, a glorious crowd,
Hell-bent for vacation.

3. PASTIME WITH GOOD COMPANY (3)

When we're at the tavern, we
Care not what this world may be,
But we set ourselves to dicing—
Sport of all sports most enticing.
Would you glance at our high jinks
Where one small coin pours out the drinks?
Would you have that scene unfurled?
Listen to me, I'll tell the world.

We play, we drink, 'tis thus, my friends,
We burn the candle at both ends.
Of those who most frequent the game
Some lose their shirts and mourn the same,
Some pile fresh garments on their backs,
Some hide their nakedness in sacks;
All thought of death each man postpones
When for the drinks we roll the bones.

First we throw a round to settle
Who shall pay, like men of mettle;
Next we drink to captives, then
Drink a third to living men;
Fourth, to Christians truly bred;
Fifth, to cheer the faithful dead;
Sixth, vain when she errs;
Seventh, Diana's foresters;

Eighth, to brothers born to roister;
Ninth, to monks that slip the cloister;
Tenth, to voyagers and sailors;
Eleventh, to discord-making railers;
Twelfth, to all who penance pay;
Thirteenth, to wanderers by the way;
And at last to king and pope
We all inordinately tope.

Host and hostess, *he* drinks, *she* drinks,
Even the parson on a spree drinks,
The captain drinks, nor drinks alone,
The tapster drinks with greasy Joan.

They drink, they drink, a motley rout,
The stay-at-home, the gadabout,
The ignorant, the erudite,
The swift, the slow, the black, the white.

They drink, the poor man ill at ease,
The no-account gone overseas;
They drink, the boy, the reverend man,
Prelate and dean both drink the can.
They drink, the sister with the brother,
They drink, they drink, old maid and mother;
What hundreds, nay, what thousands, think!
Drink, drink, drink, drink, drink, drink, drink.

To quench their thirst what would avail
A hundred mugs of penny-ale,
When all are drinking without measure
And all in drinking find their pleasure?
Whoever treats these thirsty folk
By morning will be stony broke.
They sponge on us? We treat? Not much!
Good fellows, listen! *This is Dutch.*

Questions for Thought

How is the popular concept of the Middle Ages at variance with the facts? Does the fact of medieval man's search for earthly happiness destroy the standard image of a spiritual unity as the key to an understanding of the Middle Ages?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) St. Thomas Aquinas, "Summa contra Gentiles," Book III, Ch. 48, trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province in *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas,* ed. by Anton C. Pegis (New York, 1945), II, 84-87. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc., also by permission of Burns and Oates Ltd., and The Father Provincial, St. Dominic's Priory, London.

(2) *Aucassin and Nicolette,* trans. by Andrew Lang (New York, 1904), pp. 15-45, 51-56.

(3) George F. Whicher, ed., *The Goliard Poets, Medieval Latin Songs and Satires* (Norfolk, Conn. and New York, 1949), pp. 107-09, 223, 227-29. Reprinted by permission of New Directions, Publishers.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Renaissance

THE Renaissance, the historian Jakob Burckhardt said, was "a rediscovery of the world and of men." A generation or so ago most historians would have accepted Burckhardt's claim. But fresh study and research are apt to challenge the most cherished of our generalizations, and today some historians, far from seeing the Renaissance as the threshold of the modern world, even question the usefulness of the concept itself. Whatever criticisms may be made of the term, no one has as yet proposed another name for one of the most important periods in Western European history.

The term "Renaissance" is commonly applied to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries and connotes the rebirth of literature and the arts after centuries of cultural barrenness. More specifically, it refers to the revival of interest in the civilization of Roman and Greek antiquity, which according to the traditional interpretation had been ignored during centuries of medieval darkness. An integral part of the Renaissance is that attitude of mind called humanism, which attaches primary importance to man, his life on earth, and his potential. Historians of the past few decades have challenged the chronological limits traditionally ascribed to the Renaissance and have argued that there was no sharp break between medieval and Renaissance civilization. Much that had been considered characteristic of the fifteenth-century Renaissance in Italy already existed in the preceding era. More recently still, historians have de-emphasized the sudden burst of intellectual, artistic, and literary energy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and have emphasized instead the economic and social developments that induced the cultural changes. The first part of this chapter examines such developments in fourteenth and early fifteenth century Florence.

One way to approach an understanding of the Renaissance is to look at some of its representative figures, as is done in the last two parts of the chapter. Just as St. Thomas Aquinas and the anonymous author of *Aucassin and Nicolette* personify different aspects of the Middle Ages, so Benvenuto Cellini and Niccolo Machiavelli represent important features of the Renaissance. Cellini sets forth in his *Autobiography* one of the most colorful careers in the annals of fine arts. His self-portrait, moreover, is to a large extent a portrait of the Renaissance artist. So also is the work of Machiavelli, Italian statesman and political theorist, molded by the Renaissance, which it in turn illuminates. The timelessness of Machiavelli is attested to by the abundant literature about him. But he was the product of the political conditions of his time, and to study his work is to gain an understanding of important aspects of the Renaissance.

PART I

Social and Political Change in Renaissance Florence

The urban centers that emerged in Italy during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were distinctly different from both the medieval village and medieval centers of population, such as Paris. Unlike the medieval villages, the new towns were not based upon an agrarian economy, and, unlike the medieval towns, they did not serve as places of residence for lay and ecclesiastical administrators. Commerce, finance, and industry built the new towns; merchants, artisans, and industrial laborers resided in them. Since these cities, like Florence, served a different economic and social function, they developed new and different political and social institutions.

The Florentine economy was based on the production of woolen goods. Wealthy merchants traveled to England and purchased raw wool which they brought to Florence to be processed by unskilled laborers, such as combers, and manufactured into woolen cloth by skilled artisans, after which it was sold in markets all over Europe. Great fortunes were made by successful merchants and

the names of wealthy families such as the Albizzi, Alberti, Strozzi, and Pazzi became familiar throughout Europe.

To safeguard themselves from foreign competition the Florentine merchants and artisans founded the *Arte della Lana,* or Guild of the Woolen Industry, early in the twelfth century. As the woolen industry grew in the course of the century, however, the artisans found their independence increasingly threatened by the merchants (known as *popolo grasso,* or fat people) and their status reduced to that of ordinary wage-earners. Because the merchants controlled both the source of the raw wool and the distribution of the finished product, they were able to blacklist artisans or cut off the supply of wool from them at will. To protect themselves, the artisans (called *popolo minuto,* or thin people) left the *Arte della Lana,* which was dominated by the merchants, and formed specialized craft guilds of their own. The unskilled workers (*minutissimi,* or skinniest people) remained unprotected by any guild and, although they were the largest group in Florence, exercised no control over the direction of the economy.

At about the same time the need for more effective government in Florence became evident. By 1200 Florence had grown in wealth, importance, and population. The old method of government—impromptu gatherings of all residents in front of the City Hall—was too inefficient to meet the needs of a city that was literally overflowing its walls and rapidly becoming the financial capital of Europe. The larger gathering was, therefore, replaced by a group of representatives known collectively as the Council, which was chosen within the guild structure. Since the life of the city depended upon the woolen industry, it seemed natural to articulate Florentines that rights such as voting and office-holding should be restricted to those residents of the city who were intimately connected with the industry. The *minutissimi* were, thus, neither in theory nor fact citizens of what was called the Commune of Florence. In theory the *popolo grasso* and the *popolo minuto* were equals; in fact only the wealthy merchants could afford the time needed to participate in the government. Yet even the creation of the Council did not satisfy the political needs of Florence. In 1293, the Florentines promulgated the Ordinances of Justice which were to serve as their constitution until the sixteenth century. The Ordinances created an executive body of seven men, known as Priors, who served two-month terms and resided in the City Hall during their term of office. One of the seven, the Gonfalonier of Justice, was designated the spokesman for the group. The Gonfalonier did not have more power than the other Priors but was simply the "first among equals." Since, as in the case of the Council, all guild members were eligible for the Priorate, the frequent turnover of Priors should have ensured a measure of democratic control. In practice, however, these offices also fell to the wealthy. Indeed it became common practice for the heads of the great merchant families to place their relations—uncles, cousins, sons—in one or both of the principal governing bodies, while they themselves continued to supervise the business activities of the family. In the eyes of the *popolo grasso* the family was simultaneously an economic and political, as well as a social, unit.

As long as the economy continued to flourish the *popolo minuto* and the

minutissimi did little about the merchants' domination of both the economy and the government of Florence. In the fourteenth century this economy was changing. The *popolo grasso* began to move from simple commerce and industry into finance. Many of the merchant families gradually became banking families and their commercial activities became less important to them. Indeed, it was the movement into banking and finance that ultimately destroyed the Florentine economy. The Florentine merchant-bankers of the fourteenth century lent money to French, Flemish, and German merchants, as well as to the crowned heads of England and France. They became involved in a European-wide network of credit which was so complex that when Edward III of England defaulted on a loan payment in 1340 the entire financial structure came tumbling down. People who had once been among the wealthiest men in the Western world saw their fortunes evaporate. Able-bodied industrial workers could no longer provide for their families because the *popolo grasso,* in an attempt to save themselves, had cut back on wool production and there were no jobs to be had. The *popolo grasso* might have been able to control the discontent of the artisans and unskilled laborers that stemmed from the economic disturbance had the situation not been complicated by the eruption of the Bubonic Plague, or Black Death, in 1348. The Plague spread rapidly and at random through Florence and in a short time wiped out perhaps as many as one-half of the population. The *popolo grasso* fled the city but the poor were trapped. There seemed only one certainty in Florence—sudden, horrible death.

Tension continued to mount until the outbreak of violence in 1378. To some extent the Revolt of the Ciompi (wool carders) that took place in that year may be explained as the result of tensions inherent in Florentine society. But the Revolt may also be viewed as the beginning of a major attempt to alter basic institutions in order to meet changing realities in Florentine life. The documents in this problem deal with a century of social and political change in Renaissance Florence. They focus on three aspects of this change: the revolt of the lower classes; the nature of the oligarchy that was the target of the revolt; and the rise of a new type of Renaissance figure, typified by members of the Medici family. The documents are largely Florentine chronicles written at the time. What are the values and limitations of using contemporary documents to examine social and political change? As you read consider how the basic social and political institutions of pre-1378 Florence were altered in the face of crisis. How were political structure and processes affected by economic and social considerations? What explains the emergence of the Medici family as rulers of Florence? In what ways are the Medici representative of Florentine values?

A. The Revolt of the Ciompi

From 1348 to 1378 an uneasy calm, occasionally interrupted by minor disturbances, characterized Florentine life. Finally, in 1378, the political and social position of the popolo grasso *was directly and violently challenged by the Revolt*

of the Ciompi, which is described by a participant in the first selection below. The second selection contains excerpts from a petition by the Ciompi to the government. The Revolt was spontaneous and almost succeeded. During the summer of 1378 it appeared that Florence was about to be transformed into a variety of republican democracy. Yet by 1400 the popolo grasso *had, to all intents and purposes, defeated the rebels. The initial revolt found the ranks of the* popolo grasso *divided on the question of tactics. Some of them believed that the best policy was to accede temporarily to the demands of the Ciompi. Representatives of this point of view were victorious in elections held in 1380. This group then proceeded to exile some of the more hated members of their own class. By 1381, however, it was quite obvious that the rebels could expect no substantive reform from any of the* popolo grasso. *Again riots broke out and this time the disturbances, although less violent than those of 1378, continued sporadically for twelve years. Finally, the insurgents were crushed by the political intrigues of Maso degli Albizzi (1343–1417), the head of a leading merchant family. These events are described in the third selection in passages from Niccolo Machiavelli's,* History of Florence.

—How did the *popolo grasso* exercise political control over Florence?
—What do Acciaioli's personal biases seem to be? Do they lessen the value of his chronicle?
—What were the goals of the Ciompi? Were they predominantly political, economic, or social?
—Compare the effectiveness with which the government met the crises of 1378 and 1393.
—What role do the Medici seem to have played in the revolt and suppression of the Ciompi?

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ALAMANNO ACCIAIOLI (1)

On the 18th day of June in the year 1378 the Gonfalonier of Justice, Salvestro dei Medici, convoked the Council of the Commune and while the Council gathered he attended a meeting of the Priors. At the meeting of the Priors Salvestro presented a program of reform which was designed to modify the constitution in such a way that only the *popolo grasso* would be harmed. When the Priors would not accept his reform Salvestro became angry. He left the Priors, who knew nothing of what he intended to do, and appeared before the Council. There he made the following speech.

> Wisemen of the Council! Today I hoped to cleanse the Commune of the evils resulting from the control of great and powerful tyrants. But my colleagues, the Priors, would not consent to allow me to do this. If I had succeeded then all the citizens, the whole city, would have flourished, but the Priors would not even listen to me, the Gonfalonier of Justice. Therefore I have decided that I no longer wish to be Gonfalonier or even to be a Prior. I am going to my house. Chose another Gonfalonier to serve in my place and may God bless your choice.

When he finished speaking he started to leave the City Hall but some of the Councilors ran after him and would not allow him to go to his house. Suddenly a shoemaker named Benedetto da Carlone began to create a commotion in the Chamber of the Council. He ran over to Carlo degli Strozzi, whom he grabbed by the lapels, and cried out, "Carlo, Carlo, things aren't going the way you thought they would. What's happened to all those majorities you purchased with your bribes?" Carlo, being the wise man that he is, did not answer. Then Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti, who was present in the Chamber of the Council, cried, "Long Live the People!" He ran to the window and called to the people below in the Piazza, "Start shouting 'Long Live the People!' " He did this because he knew that when this cry was heard in the city all the shops would be closed and the populace would gather in the Piazza.

That same day the leaders of the People's Party had gathered together in their hall with about 300 of their followers. They had done this because they knew that Salvestro would present his program of reform and they wished to be prepared for any trouble. And so they waited. When they heard the noise from the Piazza they thought that the reform had been accepted and they dispersed. That night the citizens of the city thought about what had happened and each man searched his heart and tried to decide upon a course of action for the following day.

The next morning no one opened his shop and when night fell the Priors placed the city under heavy guard. As the next day was Sunday all the artisans gathered together with their leaders and each craft chose a spokesman.

Early Monday morning these spokesmen went to the City Hall so that they might meet with the Priors and put the affairs of the Commune in order. But they could not agree on anything and so nothing was accomplished.

On Tuesday, after the leaders of the artisans explained the situation to them, the artisans began to arm themselves. When this news arrived at the City Hall the Priors sounded the tocsin so that they might convoke the Council and deal with this new emergency. By the time the Council met a large crowd had gathered in the Piazza and the leaders of the artisans began to shout "Long Live the People." The Councillors were greatly frightened and so they gave the Priors supreme Power to quell the disturbance.

The people in the Piazza continued to shout and suddenly some of them, mostly from among the leather workers and the tanners, ran to the house of Lapo de Castiglionchio, which they looted and burned. Then they looted and burned the houses of Carlo degli Strozzi, the Albizzi and the Pazzi. . . .

[The mob also looted and burned the homes of about a dozen more of the *popolo grasso.*]

After they finished looting and burning the homes of the *popolo grasso* the rebels broke open the prison of the Commune and freed all the prisoners. When they accomplished this the rebels divided into two groups. The first went to the monastery which is called Romiti degli Agnoli. They forced their way into the monastery, caused a great deal of damage, and stole silks and jewels valued at 100,000 florins.* These things had been placed there for safekeeping

* [A florin had the purchasing power of approximately four dollars today.]

by the wealthy. The rebels also killed one, and some say two, of the monks. The second group went to the Church of the Holy Spirit and stole many of the things placed there by the wealthy. Truly they would have seriously damaged the Church had not one of the Priors, armed as a knight, arrived. Indeed, he killed three of the rebels and protected the priests. Finally evening came and a heavy guard was placed around the city. . . .

[The next day the leaders of the popular party gathered in the City Hall and proceeded to pass a number of decrees rewarding their champions, such as the Medici, and punishing their enemies, such as the Strozzi. These decrees, however, were never executed.]

For the rest of the month of June all the guilds, both craft and merchant, did not open their shops. Many men hid their goods and no business was conducted in the city. At the same time the *popolo grasso* fortified their homes and called their servants in from their estates. They armed these servants so that they could protect themselves from further looting and arson. The city remained under heavy guard both day and night.

On the 28th day of June there were elections for the new Priors. The candidates were men who loved peace and quiet and would be able to bring harmony to the city. Even though these new Priors were men of great reputation and were trusted by the people, no one surrendered his arms nor did anyone open his shop.

On the first day of July the new Priors took office but they did so without the customary ceremonies. The bells of the city were not rung and the new Priors took their oath of office in the City Hall and not in the Piazza as is usual. These things were done in secret lest the public ceremonies serve as an excuse for further rioting.

The new Priors immediately began to consider ways and means to bring order to the city and return it to normal activity. They decided to publish the following decrees to accomplish this purpose:

That every person surrender his arms to the government of the Commune.

That all the servants who had been brought from the countryside leave the city at once.

That the shops be opened at once.

That everyone attend to his own affairs, business, or trade.

That all barricades, or other obstructions, be removed from the streets of Florence.

The government was obeyed in all things so that in a few days everything that they had decreed was done and it seemed as if there had never been any disturbance at all in Florence. With each day that passed the situation improved to such a degree that both the *popolo grasso* and the *popolo minuto* commended the Priors for their wisdom. . . .

[However, by the eleventh of July, it became evident that the new Priors would really do nothing of substance to meet the demands of the *popolo minuto* and new disturbances broke out in the city. It was in connection with this second group of disturbances that a petition was presented to the Priors.]

On the morning of the 22nd of July, the feast of Saint Maria Maddalena,

the Priors gathered in the City Hall to debate the Petition of the *popolo minuto*. On the occasion of this debate a large and noisy crowd gathered in the Piazza. The crowd was so noisy that when the Priors wished to have the Petition read they could not hear what was said in the City Hall. At any rate they accepted all the clauses of the Petition for the good of the Commune.

Then one of the Priors, a certain Guerriante, rose from his seat and said to the other Priors, "I wish to go to the door and see that none of the *popolo minuto* enter the City Hall and also to tell them that we have accepted their petition." The Priors did not know his true intention and so they allowed him to leave the room. He left the room and simply went to his house, saying nothing to anyone about the petition of the people. When the people saw that Guerriante went to his home in silence, they immediately thought that the meeting of the Priors was over and that their Petition had been denied. They were greatly angered and began to shout, "Come out all of you. We no longer wish to have Priors." This shout was so loud that even the Heavens above heard it. Then they barricaded the doors of the City Hall so that no one could leave until the will of the people was done.

The Priors, believing that Guerriante had told the people what they had done, could not understand the reason for this new demand. Then Tommaso degli Strozzi entered the Chamber of the Priors and said, "The people demand that you all go to your houses and no longer be Priors." When the Priors heard this they were filled with sorrow and consternation and looked at one another wondering what they should do now. When the Councilors of the Commune were informed of the new demand of the people they too, twisting their hands and weeping, could not decide what to do.

By this time the noise in the Piazza was incredible and the people shouted constantly that the Priors must go home at once. If the Priors did not do as the people wished the people threatened that they would burn the houses of all the Priors, all the Councilors, and all their relatives; that they would take their women and children and bring them to the Piazza to kill them before the eyes of their husbands and fathers.

The Priors finally decided that they could calm the wrath of the people if they took two of their number in as Priors, and so they sent Tommaso degli Strozzi to deliver this message to the people. To this the people replied, "No! We can never again trust these Priors who have committed so many crimes against us. We want them all to go home or else we will burn them, their wives, and all their relatives. The Priors must leave the City Hall at once."

Meanwhile the Priors consulted with the Council of the Commune and sought some means to quell the disturbance. After a while Tommaso returned and delivered the last message of the people to the Priors. The Councilors were of the opinion that the Priors should leave the City Hall at once and go to their houses in order to avoid evil for themselves and the city. Alamanno Acciaioli, and one other Prior, thought little of this advice and stated that they did not intend to leave the City Hall but that those who wished to leave could do as they saw fit.

The Gonfalonier, vile and cowardly man that he was, began to weep for his wife and children. So also did the others who already saw themselves being stabbed to death. Never have good men been as abandoned as these were, for there was no one to comfort them or to advise them. At this point many citizens came up to the Chamber begging the Priors to leave at once. They said, "For God's sake leave unless you wish to die here because those who are below are opposed to you and everything that you stand for."

Then many of the Councilors ran to hide in the Chamber of the Council of War and the Priors were left alone. At this point a large number of well-armed people, led by Niccolo da Carlone, broke into the City Hall. The Priors panicked. Who ran here? Who ran there? None of them knew what to do.

The Gonfalonier, vile and pitiful man, left by the back door and ran to his house leaving Alamanno Acciaioli alone to face the mob. Alamanno seeing himself deserted could do nothing more than to surrender the keys of the City Hall to a tavern-keeper named Calcagnino. He opened the doors to the mob, and their leader, a certain Michele di Lando, wool-comber by trade, led the mob into the City Hall and then the people gave Michele the lordship of the city and they made him the Gonfalonier of Justice. All of this was the result of contention and novelty in the city. Almighty God how you have demonstrated your power to us!

2. PETITION OF THE CIOMPI (2)

The following are the clauses of the petition presented by the *popolo minuto* to the government on 22 July 1378:

Only citizens of the Commune of Florence shall be officers in the *Arte della Lana.*

That those who card, wash, dye, or in any way prepare the wool, shall no longer be under the jurisdiction of the Guild of the Woolen Merchants but shall have their own guild. The same shall be true for those who are cutters and tailors of woolen cloth. . . .

That the executive body of the Commune shall consist of 2 representatives of the *minutissimi,* 2 of the craft guilds and the remaining 2 positions shall be filled by representatives of the merchant guilds.

That three of the twelve Elders of the Commune shall be chosen from the workers; and that of the remaining nine, four shall be chosen from among the Presidents of the Guilds; and that these seven Elders shall be elected directly by the whole Commune.

The Gonfalonier of Justice shall represent the entire Commune and even the least of the state shall be eligible for this office.

That no one, except the Consuls, may have more than one office at a time.

That the said *minutissimi* must have a building, supplied by the Commune and worth 500 florins, where they can meet and consult.

All those associations which have been disbanded shall be restored; and

that those who have been declared rebels or falsely accused in any way may be members of the reorganized associations; and that all charges shall be dropped against the accused; and that any legal expenses involved shall cost no more than one florin.

Payments on loans shall be suspended for six months, but they must be paid at full value; and that whoever has borrowed at 25% interest shall repay at 20% interest.

That Salvestro dei Medici shall have the tolls and income from the Ponte Vecchio for life.

That the Office for the Regulation of the Meat Supply of the city shall be closed and never again reopened.

That whoever has committed a misdemeanor shall not be mutilated but shall be punished in a more normal manner.

That the *minutissimi* shall have forty seats on the Council of the Eighty [body responsible for daily administration].

That the *minutissimi* shall have ten seats on the Council of the Commune.

That only members of the People's Party shall be officials of the Commune.

That no one in the Commune of Florence shall be prosecuted for any act of riot or arson committed since 18 June.

That no one whose house was destroyed by the wrath of the people shall ever again hold an office in the Commune, except Luigi di Piero Guicciardini.

That the leader of the People's Party shall have a place in the City Hall and shall never be arrested for any reason whatsoever.

That those men and women who have been placed on Probation in preparation for Blacklisting shall be removed from the Probationary List and shall never be Blacklisted and that those who have been removed from the Blacklist shall never again be placed on it; by this clause we mean that no one shall ever again be Blacklisted.

That Giorgio and Vieri delli Scali and the heirs of the following shall be taken off the Blacklist and never be placed there again:

Allesandro Barucci
Andrea di Feo, the metalworker
Marco, the armor-maker
Maso, the rope-maker
Piero Fastegli
Giraldo Pagolo, the tanner

That the following shall be exiled to a distance of 30 miles from the Commune:

Piero di Filippo degli Albizzi
Maso di Luca degli Albizzi
Carlo Strozzi

That the following shall be forever excluded from office and imprisoned:

Nanni and Matteo dello Scelto

[Penalties of varying severity are requested for fourteen other members of prominent families.]

That no one of the *popolo grasso* shall be included in the Council of the Commune and their places shall be filled by 10 of the *popolo minuto*.

It is for these reasons that we demonstrated today and on 20 July.

3. MACHIAVELLI DESCRIBES THE AFTERMATH OF THE CIOMPI REVOLT (3)

When news of the riots and disturbances [1381] reached the Priors they were greatly displeased and decided to occupy the mob with promises while they strengthened themselves. When the Government had assembled a sufficient number of armed men they acted in such a way that fear induced the people to put aside the arms which anger had caused them to take up. The Priors also decided to satisfy some of the demands of the *minutissimi* at the expense of the *popolo minuto* and so they decreed that whereas the *minuti* had had one third of the offices in the state they should now have one fourth of them. To further weaken the *minuti* they decreed that the Gonfalonier of Justice and four other responsible citizens should draw up the list of candidates for the representatives of the *minuti* among the Priors.

These things were done in 1381 and the peace of Florence remained undisturbed until 1393. In the meantime Gian Galeazzo Visconti who made himself Duke of Milan by deceit now hoped to make himself King of Italy by force. In 1390 he launched a great attack against the Florentines. The war dragged on for many years with no one gaining complete victory but one thing is certain. If the Duke had not died the Florentines would have been lost.

While the war with the Duke continued Maso degli Albizzi was chosen as Gonfalonier in 1393. Now there had been a long standing feud between the Albizzi and the Alberti, and Maso was determined that he would destroy the Alberti before his term of office expired. It just happened that the Government was examining a certain man who had been connected with the Ciompi and in the course of the examination he mentioned Alberto and Andrea degli Alberti. This was sufficient for Maso who accused them of treason and had them arrested. When the people heard of the arrest of the Alberti they were greatly disturbed, but Maso was prepared. The Priors called an assembly of all the people and surrounded the assembly with a large body of armed men, and fear caused the assembly to consent to Maso's actions. He imprisoned almost all of the Alberti as well as many of the *minuti*. Some were even put to death. These acts convinced the *popolo minuto* and the *minutissimi* that they had been robbed of both honor and life and so they took up arms against the Priors. Now a part

of them ran to the Piazza and a part of them ran immediately to the house of Veri dei Medici who, after the death of Salvestro, was head of the family. In order to quiet the group that had gone to the Piazza the Priors appointed Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi and Donato Acciaiuoli as their spokesmen. They chose these two men because it was well-known that they were consistent and outspoken champions of the *minuti* and the *minutissimi*. Those who went to the house of Veri begged him to take control of the government and to free them from the tyranny of those who would destroy the well-being of the Commune.

All those who witnessed these events and left written accounts agree that if Veri had had more ambition than integrity he could have made himself prince of the Commune. The people, because of the grave injuries that had been inflicted upon the *minuti* and their friends, were so determined to obtain vengeance that all they needed was a leader. Indeed, many of Veri's friends tried to persuade him to take what the people offered him. But to all Veri replied, "The threats of my enemies have never alarmed me nor shall the advice of my friends cause me to act in such a way as to bring harm to myself." Then he turned to the people and told them that he would speak on their behalf but only if they would follow his advice, and he led the people to the Piazza and entered the Chamber of the Priors. He told the Priors that he could never regret having the love of the Florentines but that he did regret their belief that he was ambitious, for he had never done anything to encourage such a view. He could not imagine why the people thought that he was the type of person who would stir up discontent in the Commune and then profit from that discontent. He hoped that the Priors would not change their view of him because of the mistake of the people because he believed that the power of the Priors should be restored. He concluded by pointing out to the Priors that perhaps it would be better if they acted with moderation, for a partial victory that brought peace to the city would be better than a total one that resulted in the ruin of the city. The Priors praised Veri's conduct and begged him to do all that he could to prevent any further acts of violence. They also promised to heed the advice of Veri and his friends in matters that touched the people. Veri then returned to the Piazza and to his supporters who had now joined with the followers of Rinaldo and Donato. To both of these groups he reported that the Priors really did not mean to do harm to the people but that the press of business prevented them from immediately acting upon the demands of the people. He told the people to place their trust in the humanity of the Priors and not in their pride. Veri advised the people to put aside their arms and if they did so then their privileges and security would not be harmed. The people followed Veri's advice because they trusted him.

As soon as the mob had dispersed the Priors began to arm 2,000 select citizens, and they ordered them to be prepared to give assistance when it might be required. The Priors then forbade the use of arms to all except the 2,000. After they completed these preparations they banished all those of the *popolo minuto* who had shown the greatest audacity in the recent riots. They also decreed that the Gonfalonier of Justice had to be at least forty-five years of age so that the office might have more majesty. These and the many other things

which they did under the guise of defending the state were intolerable to those against whom they were directed. Not only were the *popolo minuto* disturbed but also the friends of the Alberti and even the Medici who felt that the Priors had used them to deceive the people. The first who attempted to resist the Priors was Donato Acciaiuoli who, although a man of great wealth and power, could not live in a Commune where there was so much discontent. The first thing he tried to do was to obtain the recall of the exiles. He went from one to another and demonstrated that if his views were not accepted then the people would never be satisfied. Nor did he wait for the Priors to act on their own accord but rather he got two of his friends who were members of the government to introduce a law that included the recall of the exiles. These two men spoke of the matter to their colleagues who replied that they did not support innovations where the gain was doubtful and the danger certain. When he heard this Donato became angered and made it known that since he had tried all legal means to obtain his end he would now resort to force. The Priors, when they heard what Donato was now saying, were greatly offended and ordered him to appear before them. They accused him of fomenting rebellion and exiled him. They also exiled many of the Medici as well as others who possessed influence with the *popolo minuto*. These things were the result of the government of Maso degli Albizzi who although he was no longer Gonfalonier, was almost head of the Commune.

B. The Ethic of Florentine Oligarchy

The triumph of Maso degli Albizzi was also the triumph of the oligarchic principle of government. Florence in the fifteenth century was ruled by a small number of men who divided their time between business, politics, and intellectual endeavors. Frequently the values that they used to guide them in one walk of life were also employed in their other fields of interest. Typical of such men was Leon Battista Alberti (1405–1471). A member of one of the older and more prominent Florentine families, Alberti was active in business and politics. However, much of his historical importance rests upon his role as spokesman for the ethic of his social class. This section contains selections from two of his writings.

—What was Alberti's purpose in writing *On the Family*?
—What was his concept of the role of the family?
—Why would a member of an urban oligarchy purchase a country estate?
—How did Alberti view the servant-master relationship?

1. ALBERTI: INTRODUCTION TO "ON THE FAMILY" (4)

Since I believe families in adversity that do not not know how to be prosperous, happy, prudent, and strong will be brought low and destroyed by cruel fortune; since I do not doubt that good government, good customs, happi-

ness, humanity, and civilization itself will render families happier and more fecund; I have decided to discover by diligent study what advice I might give to the fathers of families, as well as to the entire family, so that they might achieve that final happiness—preservation from the whims of iniquitous fortune. I have taken time from my other affairs so that I might bring together in one place all that the ancients had to say and all that our family has learned from experience on the question of the preservation of the family. Furthermore, I believe that when you have been exposed to the authority of the ancients, as well as to the wise customs of our own Alberti, you will come to the same conclusion that I have, which is, that ability will render you victorious over malign fortune. You will also appreciate that old style of life, the time-honored customs of our family, and, understanding the counsels of the deceased Alberti, you will follow the advice of their example. You will learn from these deceased Alberti how they were able to increase the family; what arts they used to become fortunate and blessed; by what means they acquired grace, benevolence, and peace. You will understand the discipline that they used to bring not only honor, fame, and glory to our name, but also eternal praise and true immortality. . . .

If I thought that publishing this little work anonymously would cause you to accept what I have to say with greater ease, I would do so. . . . If I thought, even for one moment, that you, my young Alberti, would find value and satisfaction in what I am about to say, then I would burn the midnight oil even longer and study a more specific aspect of my topic. But I know that you will esteem the examples set by our ancestors and in this way bring true praise and exaltation to the family, for which I dedicate my every study, my every labor, my every thought, my whole being. I will never spare any art, strength, labor, sweat, or action that might be beneficial to our family. My reward is in teaching you, for when I see that you have learned from my work, my determination will grow, my spirit lighten, and my diligence increase. And so I pray that you, my young Alberti, will acquire riches, increase the honor, and amplify the fame of our family. You will do these things by following the examples of our learned and civic minded ancestors. Read my little work and follow the advice I give to you.

2. ALBERTI: ADVICE CONCERNING THE PURCHASE OF AN ESTATE (5)

First of all, let me say that you should purchase your estate because it will give pleasure to your family and not because it will bring delight to others. Visit the estate once and then visit it again. In this way you will be able to establish whether or not that for which you are about to spend money—and money is loved by all—truly suits you. If, perchance, a particular estate seems to suit you one day, think about it for some time. Remember that what is to your liking now may not be to your liking later on. In matters of this nature you

should never act in haste, for actions taken in haste may sometimes be harmful, but nothing harmful will come to you by waiting for a while. You should also determine whether or not the man who is selling the estate is reluctant or anxious to make the sale. It is always better to buy from one who is reluctant to sell for if he loves the property he is more likely to give you an honest evaluation. If you do not do as I have said and make a poor purchase you will suffer greatly, for whoever spends his money with ease, in matters such as this, will discover that mistakes are not so easily rectified. . . .

You should make sure that the estate is located near water, but first you should look to your prospective neighbors, for there is nothing worse than a bad neighbor. By a good neighbor I mean one who will love you no less than he loves his relatives. When you find such a neighbor be careful not to be boring or grave in word or deed and above all, treat him as you would wish him to treat you. If you establish a friendly relationship with your neighbor, then you will be able to say that wherever he is, there you are also.

Concerning the land itself, I like neither a sterile field in a healthy place nor a fertile field in an unhealthy place. You will know that an area is healthy if the inhabitants are healthy the whole year through. Remember that you can always improve the land. If it is dry, you can irrigate it; if it does not yield abundantly, you can fertilize it. But you can never immunize yourself against Heaven. Furthermore, when I say a sterile field I do not mean simply a desert, but also land that does not reward you in accordance with the labor you put into it. The best estate is one which will bring you profit and not expense. What is true of a town house is true for an estate: it should not be so distant from the market that you will have to spend a great deal of money to transport your produce and purchases.

The house on the estate should be furnished with those things that you need and not much more. You should never spend money to obtain something that you can get from your own land. Do not furnish the house in an extravagant manner. . . . You will know that your house is well-furnished when you have enough to lend to others, but you should take great care not to be one who must borrow from others. It is a sad thing to be in need, and it is a hard thing to have to ask of another. These two things joined together are not only intolerable but are also damaging to character. If you are one who finds it easy to borrow from another, remember that it will be much easier for him to refuse and ask why you always come to bother him.

As to your relationships with your servants, remember that servants like to have a master who will rule them and not one who will work beside them in the fields. On the other hand, never give a servant, or any beast of burden, for that matter, the impression that you are lazy. Give your servants only what they need for sustenance and remember to assign a servant the task for which he is best suited. Above all, you should never use a servant to do something a donkey could do just as well. Never tell servants to do something in the daytime that they could do just as well at night. Indeed, you yourself should work both

during the week and on holidays. You should always place your servants in those fields where their labors are most needed, and it is up to you to see that they do not waste time. It is your place to command and it is the servant's place to obey your every command. Try not to issue an order more than once, for it is a disgusting thing to have to command many times, and of many servants, just to get one task accomplished. You will find that the servant who executes your orders independently and immediately will bring you satisfaction; the one who does things that are useful and praiseworthy is the best of the lot. The one who does what you want, when you want it done, should have the next place in your esteem, for he is a good servant. If you have a servant who neither shows independent initiative nor carries out your orders, watch him carefully: he is the worst of the lot. All the good friends that you may have outside your house will never be able to repair the damage of one bad servant in your household. An evil man in your house is more harmful to you than any number of errors in your accounts. Watch your servants carefully, for no animal fears the back of a man, but no matter how bestial and fierce an animal is, he fears the front of a man. Always be careful and alert, for negligence destroys many things.

C. Medici Control in Florence

Renaissance Florence has been described as an oligarchic city-state in which the popolo grasso *dominated the political, social, and economic life. But fifteenth-century Florence was a political oligarchy in appearance only; in reality power was concentrated in the hands of the Medici family.*

The Medici had emigrated from Mugello, a nearby village, early in the twelfth century and had shared in the economic boom that followed. Although they were soon considered popolo grasso, *they were not numbered among its more wealthy members until the fifteenth century. The first politically important members of the family were Salvestro, Gonfalonier at the time of the Ciompi Revolt, and his cousin Veri, who played a central role in the disturbances of 1393. Another cousin, Giovanni (1360–1429), accumulated a large fortune through trade and moneylending. Giovanni founded the powerful Medici banking establishment, the influence of which was felt throughout Europe. Like Salvestro, he supported the* popolo minuto *in Florence and opposed the efforts of the Albizzi to enact taxes that would fall most heavily on the "thin people." His son Cosimo (1389–1464) was, in fact, exiled by the Albizzi.*

Medici control of Florence dated from Cosimo's return in 1434. Under his astute direction of political and business affairs, the power and prestige of the Medici increased rapidly. Older and more prominent families like the Strozzi, a typical representative of which is described by a contemporary in the first selection, found it impossible to resist Medici wealth and skill in management. By the end of the century the head of the house, Lorenzo the Magnificent, was a

prince in all but name. His grandfather, Cosimo, the chief architect of Medici ascendancy, is the subject of the last two selections.

—Compare Palla degli Strozzi and Cosimo dei Medici. In what ways were they similar? In what ways dissimilar?
—What advantage did Cosimo have over men like Palla?
—How did Cosimo handle the political problem of 1455?
—How did he exploit the resources and heritage of his family?

1. A CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTION OF PALLA DEGLI STROZZI (6)

Messer Palla di Noferi degli Strozzi, [1372–1462], of a noble family which has produced many illustrious scions, was notable for his high qualities and his knowledge of Greek and Latin letters . . . ; he had marvellous ability and great personal beauty, so that if anyone, who did not know him, chanced to meet him, he would straightway exclaim: "This must be Messer Palla." He had a family of sons and daughters, the most seemly in Florence; the girls having been educated by Madonna Marietta, the most accomplished woman of her time. They intermarried with the highest families as will appear from their pedigree: Neri di Donato Acciaiuoli, Francesco Soderini, and Tomaso Sacchetti, all men of high rank. Palla was highly esteemed in the city from which he received all possible honour. He was sent as ambassador on all the most important missions, and everywhere did well for the honour and benefit of the state. Beyond this he was scrupulously upright, and he ardently desired that his children might be the same. On this account he put them under the care of Messer Giovanni da Imola, and when the young people went about the city they were known to all from their distinguished carriage. When it was found necessary to improve the teaching classes in Florence, Messer Palla, from his well-known love of letters, was put in charge of the reforms which might give the city a good school of instruction. He at once set up classes for the study of the highest subjects, and the fame of the teachers he engaged attracted students from all parts of the world. . . .

As a citizen, Messer Palla was habitually modest, and in all his dealings and in his public administration his chief care was to avoid envy, knowing how pernicious it might prove to be in a city like Florence, especially when incurred by men in high public position. He always avoided publicity. He never went into the Piazza * except when he was sent for. . . . In going to the Piazza, so as to avoid observation, he would go by S. Trinita and turn into the Santo Apostolo as far as the Via Messer Bivigliano. Then he would reach the Piazza and enter the Palazzo without delay. He never wasted time by loitering, but returned home after business and spent his time in studying Greek and Latin.

* [The government of Florence was conducted in the Palazzo Vecchio on the Piazza della Signoria.]

Being greatly devoted to letters he bought a fine collection of books which he housed in a handsome building in S. Trinita for the use of the public. He wished to furnish it with books on all subjects, but this project came to nothing on account of the misfortunes which befell him. . . .

He was so heavily taxed that his income did not suffice to meet his expenditure, wherefore he was forced to borrow money from divers citizens. . . . Therefore he did what every good citizen would have done. He went as ambassador to give his city the fruit of his judgment and to secure the payment of his debts.

He was the intimate friend of Giovanni dei Medici, with whom he went as ambassador to Venice, also with Cosimo—Giovanni's son. They met at Lucca in 1420 when they fled from the city on account of the plague. Now Cosimo had told him that if he was in want of money he could have what he wanted from the Medici bank, the officials having been instructed to pay him whatever money he might need. . . .

At this time, [1434], there was in Florence a party of overbearing men who held that Cosimo was bound to recognize them as the authors of his recall [from exile], wherefore he was obliged to be patient, and wary in his carriage, as there were many others who could not keep a cool head. Messer Palla and many citizens made no move, for this fresh step was not what they anticipated. The city being in a state of confusion, and a large number of citizens having been banished (for they banished anyone they would), all good men fell under the displeasure of the dominant faction. Messer Agnolo di Filippo and Bartolomeo Carducci, kinsfolk of Palla, one day got information that the banishment of Palla was contemplated. . . . They were greatly astonished and enquired indignantly of certain of those in power to hear whether the report was true. Those they consulted answered "No" by way of deceiving them, but at the same time advised Palla to retire into the country for a season, on account of the jealousy against him, and not to show himself in the city for several months. Agnolo and Bartolomeo believed this to be true and reported it to Palla.

Not long after this certain men made bold to say that no judge of appeal was wanted in Florence, and that it would be well to banish Palla, good citizen as he was. He had helped the city with wise counsel and financial aid—no one else paid so heavy a tax as his—but now this did not avail him. The hostile feeling against him was so strong that many of those in power consented to his exile so as to get rid of him, thinking that, were he out of sight, no one would be left to work to their detriment. Thus Palla and his son Noferi were sent into exile for ten years, innocent as they were. . . .

When he had reached the ripe age of ninety-two (*sic*), still sound in mind and body, he rendered back his soul to God like a faithful Christian. If he had lived in the Roman republic when great men abounded, and if his life had been added to those of other illustrious men, it would have been equal to any. As no record of it has been written it has seemed to me fitting that one should be made—even in my humble way—so that the memory of such a man might be preserved as a model to those who are now living and to those who are to come. This ex-

ample of the fate of an illustrious citizen of Florence should teach them not to trust too much to Fortune.

2. A CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTION OF COSIMO DEI MEDICI (7)

Cosimo di Giovanni dei Medici was of most honourable descent, a very prominent citizen and one of great weight in the republic. He was well versed in Latin letters, both sacred and secular, of capable judgment in all matters and able to argue thereupon. . . .

His natural bent was to discuss matters of importance; and, although at this time the city was full of men of distinction, his worth was recognised on account of his praiseworthy qualities, and he began to find employment in affairs of every kind. By his twenty-fifth year he had gained great reputation in the city, and, as it was recognised that he was aiming at a high position, feeling ran strong against him, and the report of those who knew roused a fear that he would win success. The Council of Constance, gathered from all parts of the world, was then sitting [1414]; and Cosimo, who was well acquainted with foreign affairs as well as those of the city, went thither with two objects; one to allay the ill-feeling against him, and the other to see the Council which had in hand the reform of the Church, now greatly vexed by divisions. After staying some time at Constance, and witnessing the procedure of the Council, he visited almost all parts of Germany and France, spending some two years in travel. He hoped thus to let cool the ill-feeling against him which had greatly increased. He understood his own disposition which made him discontented with low estate, and made him seek to rise out of the crowd of men of small account. Many people remarked this tendency, and warned him that it might lead him into danger of death or exile. By way of lessening this resentment he began to absent himself from the palace, and to consort with men of low estate without either money or position, all by way of temporising; but his foes took this in bad part, affirming that what he did was a mere pretence to abate the suspicions of others. . . .

[Years later] Cosimo, having applied himself to the temporal affairs of the state, the conduct of which was bound to leave him with certain matters on his conscience—as is the case with all those who are fain to govern states and take the leading place—awoke to a sense of his condition, and was anxious that God might pardon him, and secure to him the possession of his earthly goods. Wherefore he felt he must needs turn to pious ways, otherwise his riches would be lost to him. He had prickings of conscience that certain portions of his wealth—where it came from I cannot say—had not been righteously gained, and to remove this weight from his shoulders he held conference with Pope Eugenius, who was then in Florence, as to the load which lay on his conscience. Pope Eugenius had settled the Observantist Order in S. Marco; but, as their lodging there was inadequate, he remarked to Cosimo that, if he was bent on unburden-

ing his soul, he might build a monastery. After he had spent ten thousand [florins] without providing all that was wanted, he afterwards completed the monastery, spending more than forty thousand florins over the work. Beyond building the house he fitted it with everything necessary for residence. He gave all the musical books for the church and the greater part of those that are now in the library, and furthermore provided the sacristy with everything needful for Divine worship. And because the Dominican brothers may not hold goods of their own, he paid all the charges of their life in common in order that they might enjoy their fine convent during their lives. For the daily outlay he settled with his bank what weekly sum should be paid to them, thus providing all they wanted. To save personal application to himself, much occupied with affairs, he gave orders to the bank that whatever sum of money might be marked on the bill should be paid and charged to his account. . . .

Lorenzo, his brother, began to build S. Lorenzo, and in his lifetime completed the sacristy, a noble work, but left his task unfinished at his death. When Cosimo took up the work the first thing he did was to demolish the priests' lodgings, wretched hovels unworthy even of a country village, and to build new ones, which still exist. When he was questioned why he had begun with the houses rather than with the church, he replied that, if he had not built them they would never have been done, whereas many would have undertaken the church for the sake of the honour to be gained thereby. He next set about the church and completed a good part of it before he died. . . .

He next considered how he might best gather together in these lodgings a company of worthy and learned men. First, he determined to collect a suitable lot of books, and one day, when I [Vespasiano da Bisticci, author of the memoirs] was with him, he said: "What plan can you suggest for the formation of this library?" I replied that if the books were to be bought, it would be impossible, for the reason that they could not be found. Then he went on, "Then tell me what you would do in the matter." I said it would be necessary to have the books transcribed, whereupon he wanted to know whether I would undertake the task. I said that I would, whereupon he replied that I might begin when I liked, that he left everything to me, and that, as for the money for daily costs, he would order Don Archangelo, the prior, to present the cheques at the bank where they would be duly paid. He was anxious I should use all possible despatch, and, after the library was begun, as there was no lack of money, I engaged forty-five scribes and completed two hundred volumes in twenty-two months, taking as a model the library of Pope Nicolas and following directions written by his own hand, which Pope Nicolas had given to Cosimo. . . .

As soon as the library was finished he provided the church with fitting books for the choir, and a fine psalter in many volumes. He gave hangings, missals, and chalices for the sacristy and all necessary utensils. The whole cost from what I have heard was seventy thousand ducats. At S. Croce he built the Noviciate with a chapel and a choir close to the sacristy at a cost of eight thousand florins or more, and he built his palace in the city from the foundations,

spending sixty thousand ducats. At Careggi he built the greater part of what we now see and the same at Cafagguiolo in Mugello at a cost of fifteen thousand ducats. These works maintained many poor men who laboured thereon. There was not a year when he did not expend on building from fifteen to eighteen thousand florins, all of which went to the state. He was most particular as to his payment. He gave the contract for the building of Careggi to a master surveyor; and, by the time it was half done, Cosimo saw that before it should be finished the man would lose several thousand florins. So he said to the contractor, "Lorenzo, you have taken this work in hand, and I know that in the end you will be a loser of several thousands of florins. That was never my intention, but rather that you should make a profit. Go on with your work. You shall not lose, and whatever may be right I will give you." And he did what he had promised. Most men would have held that after the master surveyor had made the contract he should have kept it, but Cosimo with rare liberality thought otherwise. In all his dealings he never wished that those who worked for him should lose, but that they should be paid for their trouble. . . .

He knew the difficulty of ruling a state as he had ruled Florence, through the opposition of influential citizens who had rated themselves his equals in former times. He acted privately with the greatest discretion in order to safeguard himself, and whenever he sought to attain an object he contrived to let it appear that the matter had been set in motion by someone other than himself and thus he escaped envy and unpopularity. His manner was admirable; he never spoke ill of anyone, and it angered him greatly to hear slander spoken by others. He was kind and patient to all who sought speech with him: he was more a man of deeds than of words: he always performed what he promised, and when this had been done he sent to let the petitioner know that his wishes had been granted. His replies were brief and sometimes obscure, so that they might be made to bear a double sense. . . .

3. MACHIAVELLI DESCRIBES HOW COSIMO DEI MEDICI GOVERNED FLORENCE (8)

There were two ways in which Cosimo could act to thwart the plot [1455] against him. He could seize total power in the state with the support of those of his friends who were still true to him and then exile all those who were now plotting against him. Or, he could do as he did, let things run their course and in this way demonstrate to his former friends that they were not hurting his power and position but rather their own. He chose this second course of action because he knew full well that the list of candidates for public office was composed of only his true friends and so he would run no immediate risk but could always take the government if the need arose. Since the chief offices in the Commune were filled by lot the people generally thought that they had regained their liberty, and that the officials were making their own decisions instead of

being influenced by the most powerful men in the state. This belief of the people was furthered when they saw that the friends of first one powerful man then another were now humbled, and those who were used to seeing many people come to them and ask favors now had no one. These men saw themselves become the equals of those they once considered their inferiors and they saw many men who were once their equals become their superiors. They were neither respected nor honored and indeed they were frequently ridiculed and decried by the most common of the Commune. In this way it did not take long for them to realize that their plotting had hurt themselves more than it had hurt Cosimo. He appeared not to notice what was happening and whenever possible he supported any law that seemed to favor the interests of the people. But what alarmed the *popolo grasso* most of all was the talk of renewing the property tax of 1427. They feared this tax because the rates were set by law and not by assessors.

When the tax was passed and all was made ready to collect it, the wealthy went to Cosimo and begged him to rescue them from the power of the people and to restore the conditions which had made him powerful and them respected in the Commune. To these entreaties Cosimo replied that he would be happy to help them but that any changes in the law had to be done in the regular manner and with the consent of the people. He refused to use force or any extra-legal means. The *popolo grasso* then tried to get the government to change the law but they could not succeed. They again went to Cosimo and most humbly begged him to call an assembly of the people and thus change the law. Again Cosimo refused on the grounds that he was not the Gonfalonier of Justice and thus could not call the people together. They then went to the Gonfalonier and got him to suggest that the people be assembled, but Cosimo's true friends so ridiculed the idea that the man actually went out of his mind and was forced to retire from office. However, it is never wise to allow things to go so far that you can no longer control the course of events and so it seemed to Cosimo that the best thing to do would be to allow the new Gonfalonier to assemble the people and revoke the tax. In this way if something went wrong then the Gonfalonier and not Cosimo would have to bear the blame and responsibility.

Questions For Thought

What are the prerequisites for turning a republican form of government into a democracy? What would have been necessary for this to have succeeded in Renaissance Florence?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores,* ed. Gino Scaranella (Bologna, 1902), XVIII, Part III, pp. 13–17, 30–33 (trans. JJR).
(2) *Ibid.,* pp. 146–47 (trans. JJR).
(3) Niccolo Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine* (Florence, 1818), I, 190–96 (trans. JJR).
(4) Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere volgari,* ed. Cecil Grayson (Bari: Laterza & Sons, 1960), I, 10–12 (trans. JJR).
(5) *Ibid.,* 359–61 (trans. JJR).

(6) Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century,* trans. William George and Emily Waters (London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1926), pp. 235–38, 241–42, 244–45.
(7) *Ibid.,* pp. 213–14, 218–23.
(8) Niccolo Machiavelli, *op. cit.,* II, 116–18 (trans. JJR).

PART II

Individualism and the Artist: Benvenuto Cellini

Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), musician, goldsmith, sculptor, and author, is one of the great figures of the High Renaissance in Italy. His fame results not only from his excellence and versatility as an artist, but also from the fact that, unlike his predecessors or his contemporaries, he wrote a full length autobiography that is invaluable both for what it tells us about Cellini himself and for the insights it gives into Renaissance society and the relationship of the artist to that society.

Cellini's father was a Florentine musician and maker of musical instruments who hoped that Benvenuto would follow in his footsteps. But although Cellini studied music in his childhood, at the age of fifteen he persuaded his father to apprentice him to a goldsmith. That apprenticeship began a long career, during which he numbered among his patrons Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici), King Francis I of France, and Cosimo I (Medici), Grand Duke of Tuscany. For these men he performed a great number and variety of services—designing

and striking medals and coins, setting jewels, and making all sorts of art objects to furnish the palaces and decorate the persons of his patrons and to provide them with gifts of state to other rulers and noble lords of the time. Much of his work is lost to us, but a few of his great works have been preserved, including the famous saltcellar he wrought in gold and enamel for Francis I and the "Perseus and Medusa," the completion of which the following selections describe.

Cellini's *Autobiography* reveals a complex and at times incredible character. His accounts of his exploits are often unbelievable, and we would be forced to reject them as sheer braggadocio if they were not frequently attested to by other observers. His penchants for boasting and for manslaughter, his love affairs, and his many illegitimate children outdo the fictional *Decameron* of Boccaccio in picaresque excitement. A full reading of the *Autobiography* may make one tire of the conceit, the egotistical concern with his own problems and doings, the constant bitter complaining against his patrons, and the frequent barbaric brutality of the man; yet the speed with which Cellini moves from one episode to another makes for delightful reading. As with a good historical novel, one feels oneself swept back into the past to become a part of another era but with the difference that here we have a man writing what he himself has lived.

The selections that follow deal with the period of Cellini's life from 1545 to 1554, after he had returned to his homeland from France. His chief concern during this period was the execution of the sculptural group "Perseus and Medusa." When reading these selections one must bear in mind Cellini's obvious desire to present himself in as favorable a light as possible and judge the value of the evidence he presents accordingly. One should also note examples of what may be called "negative" evidence—that is, places where the author has failed to discuss a given subject. An example of such evidence is the fact that although this was the period of great religious upheaval throughout Europe and the period covered in the excerpts witnessed the first two sessions of the Council of Trent, no mention whatsoever is made of these events.

—Why was Cellini anxious to do a large piece of sculpture for the Piazza?
—What methods did Cellini use in making the statue? What inferences can be drawn about the abilities required of artists from these methods and from the other activities Cellini undertook for the Duke?
—What personal qualities did Cellini display? What can be inferred about his honesty? Piety? Modesty? Integrity? Morality?
—What do you think of the Duke as a connoisseur of the arts? What seem to have been his chief interests in having the statue erected in the Piazza? What was he most interested in when the statue was revealed to public view?
—What was Cellini's position within the Medici family? What does the incident of the pear graft indicate about this and about the Renaissance generally?
—Compare the illustrations of "David" and "Hercules and Cacus." What criticism can you make of each? Do you think Cellini's criticism of Bandinelli's work justified? Does the "Perseus and Medusa" live up to the standards of artistic

excellence that Cellini demanded? Do you think Cellini is more properly regarded as an artist or as a craftsman?

—Examine Cellini's treatment of the War of Siena as an example of "negative" evidence. How did he describe the Duke's administration of government? Do you find other examples of this sort? What inferences can be drawn from such omissions of detail?

1. THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI (1)

. . . The Duke of Florence at this time,* which was the month of August 1545, had retired to Poggio a Cajano, ten miles distant from Florence. Thither then I went to pay him my respects, with the sole object of acting as duty required, first because I was a Florentine, and next because my forefathers had always been adherents of the Medicean party, and I yielded to none of them in affection for this Duke Cosimo. As I have said, then, I rode to Poggio with the sole object of paying my respects, and with no intention of accepting service under him, as God, who does all things well, did then appoint for me.

When I was introduced, the Duke received me very kindly; then he and the Duchess put questions concerning the works which I had executed for the King.† I answered willingly and in detail. After listening to my story, he answered that he had heard as much, and that I spoke the truth. Then he assumed a tone of sympathy, and added: "How small a recompense for such great and noble masterpieces! Friend Benvenuto, if you feel inclined to execute something for me too, I am ready to pay you far better than that King of yours has done, for whom your excellent nature prompts you to speak so gratefully." When I understood his drift, I described the deep obligations under which I lay to his Majesty, who first obtained my liberation from that iniquitous prison, and afterwards supplied me with the means of carrying out more admirable works than any artist of my quality had ever had the chance to do. While I was thus speaking, my lord the Duke writhed on his chair, and seemed as though he could not bear to hear me to the end. Then, when I had concluded, he rejoined: "If you are disposed to work for me, I will treat you in a way that will astonish you, provided the fruits of your labours give me satisfaction, of which I have no doubt." I, poor unhappy mortal, burning with desire to show the noble school‡ of Florence that, after leaving her in youth, I had practised other branches of the art than she imagined, gave answer to the Duke that I would willingly erect for him in marble or in bronze a mighty statue on his fine piazza. He replied that, for a first essay, he should like me to produce a Perseus; he had long set his heart on having such a monument, and he begged me to begin a model for the same. I very gladly set myself to the task, and in a few weeks I finished my model, which was about a cubit high, in yellow wax

* [Cosimo I (the Great), 1519-1574, Duke of Florence and Grand Duke of Tuscany.]

† [Francis I of France (1515-1547).]

‡ This school was the Collegio dei Maestri di Belle Arti in Florence, who had hitherto known of Cellini mainly as a goldsmith.

and very delicately finished in all its details. I had made it with the most thorough study and art.

The Duke returned to Florence, but several days passed before I had an opportunity of showing my model. It seemed indeed as though he had never set eyes on me or spoken with me, and this caused me to augur ill of my future dealings with his Excellency. Later on, however, one day after dinner, I took it to his wardrobe, where he came to inspect it with the Duchess and a few gentlemen of the court. No sooner had he seen it than he expressed much pleasure, and extolled it to the skies; wherefrom I gathered some hope that he might really be a connoisseur of art. After having well considered it for some time, always with greater satisfaction, he began as follows: "If you could only execute this little model, Benvenuto, with the same perfection on a large scale, it would be the finest piece in the piazza." I replied: "Most excellent my lord, upon the piazza are now standing works by the great Donatello and the incomparable Michel Angelo, the two greatest men who have ever lived since the days of the ancients. But since your Excellence encourages my model with such praise, I feel the heart to execute it at least thrice as well in bronze." No slight dispute arose upon this declaration; the Duke protesting that he understood these matters perfectly, and was quite aware what could be done. I rejoined that my achievements would resolve his dubitations and debates; I was absolutely sure of being able to perform far more than I had promised for his Excellency, but that he must give me means for carrying my work out, else I could not fulfil my undertaking. In return for this his Excellency bade me formulate my demands in a petition, detailing all my requirements; he would see them liberally attended to.

It is certain that if I had been cunning enough to secure by contract all I wanted for my work, I should not have incurred the great troubles which came upon me through my own fault. But he showed the strongest desire to have the work done, and the most perfect willingness to arrange preliminaries. I therefore, not discerning that he was more a merchant than a duke, dealt very frankly with his Excellency, just as if I had to do with a prince, and not with a commercial man. I sent in my petition, to which he replied in large and ample terms. The memorandum ran as follows: "Most rare and excellent my patron, petitions of any validity and compacts between us of any value do not rest upon words or writings; the whole point is that I should succeed in my work according to my promise; and if I so succeed, I feel convinced that your most illustrious Excellency will very well remember what you have engaged to do for me." This language so charmed the Duke both with my ways of acting and of speaking that he and the Duchess began to treat me with extraordinary marks of favour.

Being now inflamed with a great desire to begin working, I told his Excellency that I had need of a house where I could install myself and erect furnaces, in order to commence operations in clay and bronze, and also, according to their separate requirements, in gold and silver. I knew that he was well aware how thoroughly I could serve him in those several branches, and I required some

The Piazza della Signoria with the Palazzo Vecchio, showing the Fountain of Neptune in the foreground and just to the right of center the statues of *David* (a reproduction of the original which has been placed in the Academy for safekeeping) and of *Hercules and Cacus*. In the background is the Uffizi Palace, and at the extreme right the Loggia dei Lanzi, where the *Perseus and Medusa* is located.

dwelling fitted for my business. In order that his Excellency might perceive how earnestly I wished to work for him, I had already chosen a convenient house, in a quarter much to my liking. As I did not want to trench upon his Excellency for money or anything of that sort, I had brought with me from France two jewels, with which I begged him to purchase me the house, and to keep them until I earned it with my labour. These jewels were excellently executed by my workmen, after my own designs. When he had inspected them with minute attention, he uttered these spirited words, which clothed my soul with a false hope: "Take back your jewels, Benvenuto! I want you, and not them; you shall have your house free of charges." After this, he signed a rescript underneath the petition I had drawn up, and which I have always preserved among my papers. The rescript ran as follows: *"Let the house be seen to, and who is the vendor, and at what price; for we wish to comply with Benvenuto's request."* I naturally thought that this would secure me in possession of the house; being over and above convinced that my performances must far exceed what I promised.

His Excellency committed the execution of these orders to his majordomo, who was named Ser Pier Francesco Riccio.* The man came from Prato, and had been the Duke's pedagogue. I talked, then, to this donkey, and described my requirements, for there was a garden adjoining the house, on which I wanted to erect a workshop. He handed the matter over to a paymaster, dry and meagre, who bore the name of Lattanzio Gorini. This flimsy little fellow, with his tiny spider's hands and small gnat's voice, moved about the business at a snail's pace; yet in an evil hour he sent me stones, sand, and lime enough to build perhaps a pigeon-house with careful management. When I saw how coldly things were going forward, I began to feel dismayed; however, I said to myself: "Little beginnings sometimes have great endings"; and I fostered hope in my heart by noticing how many thousand ducats had recently been squandered upon ugly pieces of bad sculpture turned out by that beast of a Buaccio Bandinelli.† So I rallied my spirits and kept prodding at Lattanzio Gorini, to make him go a little faster. It was like shouting to a pack of lame donkeys with a blind dwarf for their driver. Under these difficulties, and by the use of my own money, I had soon marked out the foundations of the workshop and cleared the ground of trees and vines, labouring on, according to my wont, with fire, and perhaps a trifle of impatience. . . .

I had got all the above-mentioned things in order, and was making vigorous preparations for my great undertaking—indeed a portion of the lime had already been used—when I received sudden notice to appear before the majordomo. I found him, after his Excellency's dinner, in the hall of the clock. On entering, I paid him marked respect, and he received me with the greatest stiffness. Then he asked who had installed me in the house, and by whose

* Varchi, St. Fior., lib. xv, 44, gives to this man the character of a presumptuous conceited simpleton.

† Cellini calls this man, his bitter foe and rival, Buaccio or the great ox, blockhead, instead of Baccio, which is shortened for Bartolommeo.

authority I had begun to build there, saying he marvelled much that I had been so headstrong and foolhardy. I answered that I had been installed in the house by his Excellency, and that his lordship himself, in the name of his Excellency, had given the orders to Lattanzio Gorini. "Lattanzio brought stone, sand, and lime, and provided what I wanted, saying he did so at your lordship's orders." When I had thus spoken, the brute turned upon me with still greater tartness, vowing that neither I nor any of those whom I had mentioned spoke the truth. This stung me to the quick, and I exclaimed: "O majordomo, so long as your lordship * chooses to use language befitting the high office which you hold, I shall revere you, and speak to you as respectfully as I do to the Duke; if you take another line with me, I shall address you as but one Ser Pier Francesco Riccio." He flew into such a rage that I thought he meant to go mad upon the spot, anticipating the time ordained by Heaven for him to do so. Pouring forth a torrent of abuse, he roared out that he was surprised at himself for having let me speak at all to a man of his quality. Thereupon my blood was up, and I cried: "Mark my words, then, Ser Pier Francesco Riccio! I will tell you what sort of men are my equals, and who are yours—mere teachers of the alphabet to children!" His face contracted with a spasm, while he raised his voice and repeated the same words in a still more insulting tone. I, too, assumed an air of menace, and matching his own arrogance with something of the same sort, told him plainly that men of my kind were worthy to converse with popes and emperors, and great kings, and that perhaps there were not two such men alive upon this earth, while ten of his sort might be met at every doorway. On hearing these words he jumped upon a window-seat in the hall there, and defied me to repeat what I had said. I did so with still greater heat and spirit, adding I had no farther mind to serve the Duke, and that I should return to France, where I was always welcome. The brute remained there stupefied and pale as clay; I went off furious, resolved on leaving Florence; and would to God that I had done so!

The Duke cannot, I think, have been informed at once of this diabolical scene, for I waited several days without hearing from him. Giving up all thoughts of Florence, except what concerned the settlement of my sister's and nieces' affairs, I made preparations to provide for them as well as I could with the small amount of money I had brought, and then to return to France and never set my foot in Italy again. This being my firm purpose, I had no intention to ask leave of the Duke or anybody, but to decamp as quickly as I could; when one morning the majordomo, of his own accord, sent very humbly to entreat my presence, and opened a long pedantic oration, in which I could discover neither method, nor elegance, nor meaning, nor head, nor tail. I only gathered from it that he professed himself a good Christian, wished to bear no man malice, and asked me in the Duke's name what salary I should be willing to accept. Hearing this, I stood awhile on guard, and made no answer, being firmly resolved not

* It was the custom at that epoch to address princes by the title of Signore or Vostra Signoria; gentlemen (armigeri) had the title of Messer; simple Ser was given to plebeians with some civil or ecclesiastical dignity.

to engage myself. When he saw that I refused to reply, he had at least the cleverness to put in: "Benvenuto, dukes expect to be answered; and what I am saying to you, I am saying from his Excellency's lips." Then I rejoined that if the message came from his Excellency, I would gladly reply, and told him to report to the Duke that I could not accept a position inferior to that of any one employed by him as artist. The majordomo answered: "Bandinelli receives two hundred crowns a year; if then you are contented with that, your salary is settled." I agreed upon these terms, adding that what I might earn in addition by the merit of my performances, could be given after they were seen; that point I left entirely to the good judgment of his Excellency. Thus, then, against my will, I pieced the broken thread again, and set to work; the Duke continually treating me with the highest imaginable marks of favour. . . .

While the workshop for executing my Perseus was in building, I used to work in a ground-floor room. Here I modelled the statue in plaster, giving it the same dimensions as the bronze was meant to have, and intending to cast it from this mould. But finding that it would take rather long to carry it out in this way, I resolved upon another expedient, especially as now a wretched little studio had been erected, brick on brick, so miserably built that the mere recollection of it gives me pain. So then I began the figure of Medusa, and constructed the skeleton in iron. Afterwards I put on the clay, and when that was modelled, baked it. . . .

Just at this time I suffered slightly in the loins, and being unable to work hard, I was glad to pass my time in the Duke's wardrobe with a couple of young goldsmiths called Gianpagolo and Domenico Poggini, who made a little golden cup under my direction. It was chased in bas-relief with figures and other pretty ornaments, and his Excellency meant it for the Duchess to drink water out of. He furthermore commissioned me to execute a golden belt, which I enriched with gems and delicate masks and other fancies. The Duke came frequently into the wardrobe, and took great pleasure in watching me at work and talking to me. When my health improved, I had clay brought, and took a portrait of his Excellency, considerably larger than life-size, which I modelled while he stayed with me for pastime. He was highly delighted with this piece, and conceived such a liking for me that he earnestly begged me to take up my working quarters in the palace, selecting rooms large enough for my purpose, and fitting them up with furnaces and all I wanted, for he greatly enjoyed watching the processes of art. I replied that this was impossible; I should not have finished my undertakings in a hundred years. . . .

Meanwhile I was advancing with my great statue of Medusa. I had covered the iron skeleton with clay, which I modelled like an anatomical subject, and about half an inch thinner than the bronze would be. This I baked well, and then began to spread on the wax surface, in order to complete the figure to my liking. The Duke, who often came to inspect it, was so anxious lest I should not succeed with the bronze, that he wanted me to call in some master to cast it for me. . . .

The first piece I cast in bronze was that great bust, the portrait of his

Excellency, which I had modelled in the goldsmith's workroom while suffering from those pains in my back. It gave much pleasure when it was completed, though my sole object in making it was to obtain experience of clays suitable for bronze-casting. I was of course aware that the admirable sculptor Donatello had cast his bronzes with clay of Florence; yet it seemed to me that he had met with enormous difficulties in their execution. As I thought that this was due to some fault in the earth, I wanted to make these first experiments before I undertook my Perseus. From them I learned that the clay was good enough, but had not been well understood by Donatello, inasmuch as I could see that his pieces had been cast with the very greatest trouble. Accordingly, as I have described above, I prepared the earth by artificial methods, and found it serve me well, and with it I cast the bust; but since I had not yet constructed my own furnace, I employed that of Maestro Zanobi di Pagno, a bellfounder.

When I saw that this bust came out sharp and clean, I set at once to construct a little furnace in the workshop erected for me by the Duke, after my own plans and design, in the house which the Duke had given me. No sooner was the furnace ready than I went to work with all diligence upon the casting of Medusa, that is the woman twisted in a heap beneath the feet of Perseus. It was an extremely difficult task, and I was anxious to observe all the niceties of art which I had learned, so as not to lapse into some error. The first cast I took in my furnace succeeded in the superlative degree, and was so clean that my friends thought I should not need to retouch it. It is true that certain Germans and Frenchmen, who vaunt the possession of marvellous secrets, pretend that they can cast bronzes without retouching them; but this is really nonsense, because the bronze, when it has first been cast, ought to be worked over and beaten in with hammers and chisels, according to the manner of the ancients and also to that of the moderns—I mean such moderns as have known how to work in bronze. . . .

It happened on one feast-day that I went to the palace after dinner, and when I reached the clockroom, I saw the door of the wardrobe standing open. As I drew nigh it, the Duke called me, and after a friendly greeting said: "You are welcome! Look at that box which has been sent me by my lord Stefano of Palestrina. Open it, and let us see what it contains." When I had opened the box, I cried to the Duke: "My lord, this is a statue in Greek marble, and it is a miracle of beauty. I must say that I have never seen a boy's figure so excellently wrought and in so fine a style among all the antiques I have inspected. If your Excellency permits, I should like to restore it—head and arms and feet. I will add an eagle, in order that we may christen the lad Ganymede. It is certainly not my business to patch up statues, that being the trade of botchers, who do it in all conscience villainously ill; yet the art displayed by this great master of antiquity cries out to me to help him." The Duke was highly delighted to find the statue so beautiful, and put me a multitude of questions, saying: "Tell me, Benvenuto, minutely, in what consists the skill of this old master, which so excites your admiration." I then attempted, as well as I was able, to explain the

beauty of workmanship, the consummate science, and the rare manner displayed by the fragment. I spoke long upon these topics, and with the greater pleasure because I saw that his Excellency was deeply interested.

While I was thus pleasantly engaged in entertaining the Duke, a page happened to leave the wardrobe, and at the same moment Bandinello entered. When the Duke saw him, his countenance contracted, and he asked him drily: "What are you about here?" Bandinello, without answering, cast a glance upon the box, where the statue lay uncovered. Then breaking into one of his malignant laughs and wagging his head, he turned to the Duke and said: "My lord, this exactly illustrates the truth of what I have so often told your Excellency. You must know that the ancients were wholly ignorant of anatomy, and therefore their works abound in mistakes." I kept silence, and paid no heed to what he was saying; nay, indeed, I had turned my back on him. But when the brute had brought his disagreeable babble to an end, the Duke exclaimed: "O Benvenuto, this is the exact opposite of what you were just now demonstrating with so many excellent arguments. Come and speak a word in defence of the statue." In reply to this appeal, so kindly made me by the Duke, I spoke as follows: "My lord, your most illustrious Excellency must please to know that Baccio Bandinello is made up of everything bad, and thus has he ever been; therefore, whatever he looks at, be the thing superlatively excellent, becomes in his ungracious eyes as bad as can be. I, who incline to the good only, discern the truth with purer senses. Consequently, what I told your Excellency about this lovely statue is mere simple truth; whereas what Bandinello said is but a portion of the evil out of which he is composed." The Duke listened with much amusement; but Bandinello writhed and made the most ugly faces—his face itself being by nature hideous beyond measure—which could be imagined by the mind of man.

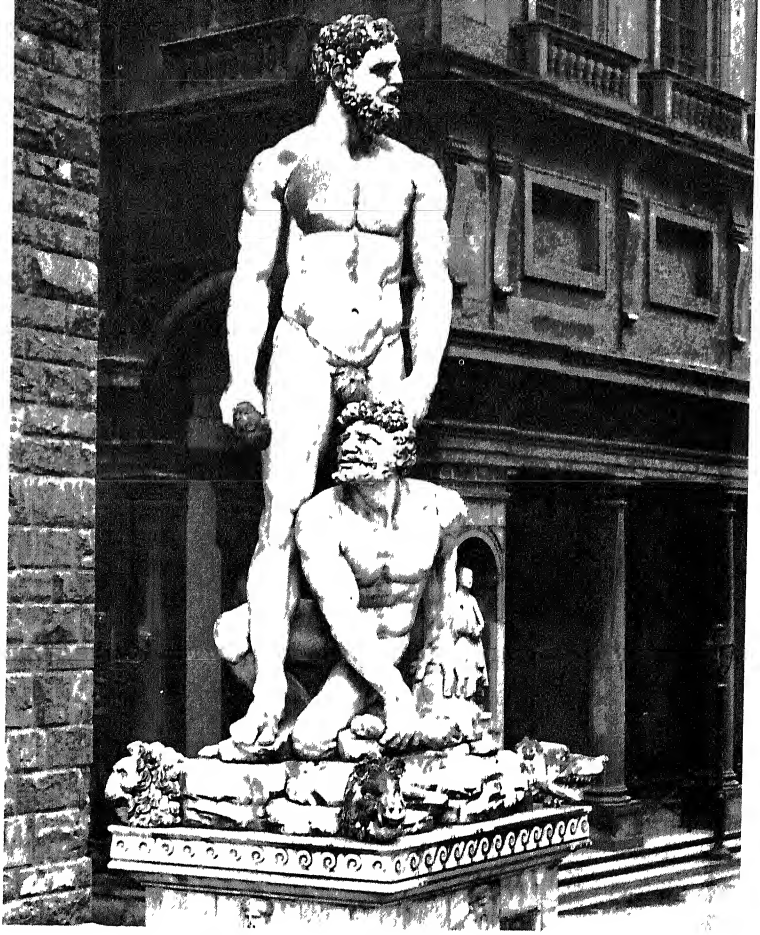
The Duke at this point moved away, and proceeded through some ground-floor rooms, while Bandinello followed. The chamberlains twitched me by the mantle, and sent me after; so we all attended the Duke until he reached a certain chamber, where he seated himself, with Bandinello and me standing at his right hand and his left. I kept silence, and the gentlemen of his Excellency's suite looked hard at Bandinello, tittering among themselves about the speech I had made in the room above. So then Bandinello began again to chatter, and cried out: "Prince, when I uncovered my Hercules and Cacus, I verily believe a hundred sonnets were written on me, full of the worst abuse which could be invented by the ignorant rabble." * I rejoined: "Prince, when Michel Agnolo Buonarroti displayed his Sacristy to view, with so many fine statues in it, the men of talent in our admirable school of Florence, always appreciative of truth and goodness, published more than a hundred sonnets, each vying

* Vasari confirms this statement. The statue, which may still be seen upon the great piazza, is, in truth, a very poor performance. The Florentines were angry because Bandinello had filched the commission away from Michel Angelo. It was uncovered in 1534, and Duke Alessandro had to imprison its lampooners.

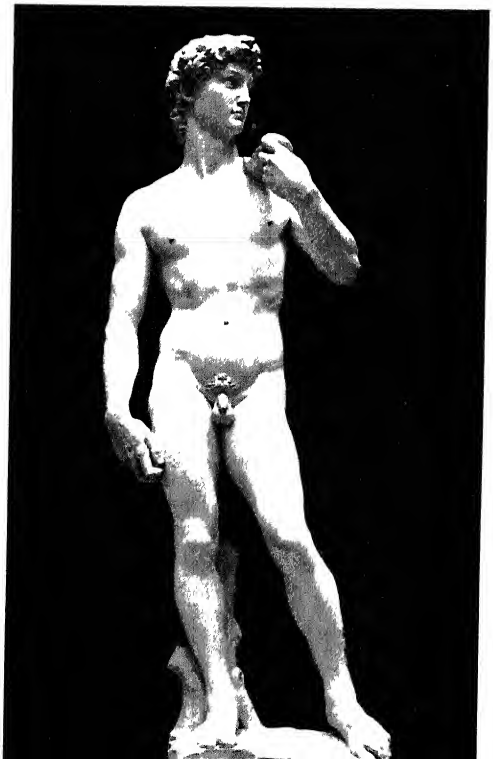
with his neighbour to extol these masterpieces to the skies.* So then, just as Bandinello's work deserved all the evil which, he tells us, was then said about it, Buonarroti's deserved the enthusiastic praise which was bestowed upon it." These words of mine made Bandinello burst with fury; he turned on me, and cried: "And you, what have you got to say against my work?" "I will tell you if you have the patience to hear me out." "Go along then," he replied. The Duke and his attendants prepared themselves to listen. I began and opened my oration thus: "You must know that it pains me to point out the faults of your statue; I shall not, however, utter my own sentiments, but shall recapitulate what our most virtuous school of Florence says about it." The brutal fellow kept making disagreeable remarks and gesticulating with his hands and feet, until he enraged me so that I began again, and spoke far more rudely than I should otherwise have done, if he had behaved with decency. "Well, then, this virtuous school says that if one were to shave the hair of your Hercules, there would not be skull enough left to hold his brain; it says that it is impossible to distinguish whether his featuress are those of a man or of something between a lion and an ox; the face too is turned away from the action of the figure, and is so badly set upon the neck, with such poverty of art and so ill a grace, that nothing worse was ever seen; his sprawling shoulders are like the two pommels of an ass's pack-saddle; his breasts and all the muscles of the body are not portrayed from a man, but from a big sack full of melons set upright against a wall. The loins seem to be modelled from a bag of lanky pumpkins; nobody can tell how his two legs are attached to that vile trunk; it is impossible to say on which leg he stands, or which he uses to exert his strength; nor does he seem to be resting upon both, as sculptors who know something of their art have occasionally set the figure. It is obvious that the body is leaning forward more than one-third of a cubit, which alone is the greatest and most insupportable fault committed by vulgar commonplace pretenders. Concerning the arms, they say that these are both stretched out without one touch of grace or one real spark of artistic talents, just as if you had never seen a naked model. Again, the right leg of Hercules and that of Cacus have got one mass of flesh between them, so that if they were to be separated, not only one of them, but both together, would be left without a calf at the point where they are touching. They say, too, that Hercules has one of his feet underground, while the other seems to be resting on hot coals."

The fellow could not stand quiet to hear the damning errors of his Cacus in their turn enumerated. For one thing, I was telling the truth; for another, I was unmasking him to the Duke and all the people present, who showed by face and gesture first their surprise, and next their conviction that what I said was true. All at once he burst out: "Ah, you slanderous tongue! why don't you speak about my design?" I retorted: "A good draughtsman can never produce bad works; therefore I am inclined to believe that your drawing is no better than your statues." When he saw the amused expression on the Duke's face and

* Cellini alludes of course to the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, designed by Michel Angelo, with the portraits of the Medici and statues of Day, Night, Dawn, and Twilight.



Hercules and Cacus by Bartolomeo Bandinello (1493?-1564). According to Greek legend Hercules slew the monster Cacus by smashing his face into pulp.



David by Michelangelo (1475-1564).

the cutting gestures of the bystanders, he let his insolence get the better of him, and turned to me with that most hideous face of his, screaming aloud: "Oh, hold your tongue, you ugly . . ." * At these words the Duke frowned, and the others pursed their lips up and looked with knitted brows toward him. The horrible affront half maddened me with fury; but in a moment I recovered presence of mind enough to turn it off with a jest: "You madman! you exceed the bounds of decency. Yet would to God that I understood so noble an art as you allude to; they say that Jove used it with Ganymede in paradise, and here upon this earth it is practised by some of the greatest emperors and kings. I, however, am but a poor humble creature, who neither have the power nor the intelligence to perplex my wits with anything so admirable." When I had finished this speech, the Duke and his attendants could control themselves no longer, but broke into such shouts of laughter that one never heard the like. You must know, gentle readers, that though I put on this appearance of pleasantry, my heart was bursting in my body to think that a fellow, the foulest villain who ever breathed, should have dared in the presence of so great a prince to cast an insult of that atrocious nature in my teeth; but you must also know that he insulted the Duke, and not me; for had I not stood in that august presence, I should have felled him dead to earth. . . .

It so happened on one of those mornings, while I was getting some little chisels into trim to work . . . , that a very fine splinter of steel flew into my right eye, and embedded itself so deeply in the pupil that it could not be extracted. I thought for certain I must lose the sight of that eye. After some days I sent for Maestro Raffaello de' Pilli, the surgeon, who obtained a couple of live pigeons, and placing me upon my back across a table, took the birds and opened a large vein they have beneath the wing, so that the blood gushed out into my eye. I felt immediately relieved, and in the space of two days the splinter came away, and I remained with eyesight greatly improved. Against the feast of S. Lucia,† which came round in three days, I made a golden eye out of a French crown, and had it presented at her shrine by one of my six nieces, daughters of my sister Liperata; the girl was ten years of age, and in her company I returned thanks to God and S. Lucia. For some while afterwards I . . . pushed my Perseus forward under all the difficulties I have described. It was my purpose to finish it, and then to bid farewell to Florence.

Having succeeded so well with the cast of the Medusa, I had great hope of bringing my Perseus through; for I had laid the wax on, and felt confident that it would come out in bronze as perfectly as the Medusa. The waxen model produced so fine an effect, that when the Duke saw it and was struck with its beauty—whether somebody had persuaded him it could not be carried out with the same finish in metal, or whether he thought so for himself—he came to visit me more frequently than usual, and on one occasion said: "Benvenuto, this figure cannot succeed in bronze; the laws of art do not admit of it." These

* Oh sta cheto, soddomitaccio.

† S. Lucy, I need hardly remark, is the patroness of the eyes. In Italian art she is generally represented holding her own eyes upon a plate.

words of his Excellency stung me so sharply that I answered: "My lord, I know how very little confidence you have in me; and I believe the reason of this is that your most illustrious Excellency lends too ready an ear to my calumniators, or else indeed that you do not understand my art." He hardly let me close the sentence when he broke in: "I profess myself a connoisseur, and understand it very well indeed." I replied: "Yes, like a prince, not like an artist; for if your Excellency understood my trade as well as you imagine, you would trust me on the proofs I have already given. These are, first, the colossal bronze bust of your Excellency, which is now in Elba; secondly, the restoration of the Ganymede in marble, which offered so many difficulties and cost me so much trouble, that I would rather have made the whole statue new from the beginning; thirdly, the Medusa, cast by me in bronze, here now before your Excellency's eyes, the execution of which was a greater triumph of strength and skill than any of my predecessors in this fiendish art have yet achieved. Look you, my lord! I constructed that furnace anew on principles quite different from those of other founders; in addition to many technical improvements and ingenious devices, I supplied it with two issues for the metal, because this difficult and twisted figure could not otherwise have come out perfect. It is only owing to my intelligent insight into means and appliances that the statue turned out as it did; a triumph judged impossible by all the practitioners of this art. I should like you furthermore to be aware, my lord, for certain, that the sole reason why I succeeded with all those great and arduous works in France under his most admirable Majesty King Francis, was the high courage which that good monarch put into my heart by the liberal allowances he made me, and the multitude of workpeople he left at my disposal. I could have as many as I asked for, and employed at times above forty, all chosen by myself. These were the causes of my having there produced so many masterpieces in so short a space of time. Now then, my lord, put trust in me; supply me with the aid I need. I am confident of being able to complete a work which will delight your soul. But if your Excellency goes on disheartening me, and does not advance me the assistance which is absolutely required, neither I nor any man alive upon this earth can hope to achieve the slightest thing of value."

It was as much as the Duke could do to stand by and listen to my pleadings. He kept turning first this way and then that; while I, in despair, poor wretched I, was calling up remembrance of the noble state I held in France, to the great sorrow of my soul. All at once he cried: "Come, tell me, Benvenuto, how is it possible that yonder splendid head of Medusa, so high up there in the grasp of Perseus, should ever come out perfect?" I replied upon the instant: "Look you now, my lord! If your Excellency possessed that knowledge of the craft which you affirm you have, you would not fear one moment for the splendid head you speak of. There is good reason, on the other hand, to feel uneasy about this right foot, so far below and at a distance from the rest." When he heard these words, the Duke turned, half in anger, to some gentlemen in waiting, and exclaimed: "I verily believe that this Benvenuto prides himself on contradicting everything one says." Then he faced round to me with a touch of mockery,

upon which his attendants did the like, and began to speak as follows: "I will listen patiently to any argument you can possibly produce in explanation of your statement, which may convince me of its probability." I said in answer: "I will adduce so sound an argument that your Excellency shall perceive the full force of it." So I began: "You must know, my lord, that the nature of fire is to ascend, and therefore I promise you that Medusa's head will come out famously; but since it is not in the nature of fire to descend, and I must force it downwards six cubits by artificial means, I assure your Excellency upon this most convincing ground of proof that the foot cannot possibly come out. It will, however, be quite easy for me to restore it." "Why, then," said the Duke, "did you not devise it so that the foot should come out as well as you affirm the head will?" I answered: "I must have made a much larger furnace, with a conduit as thick as my leg; and so I might have forced the molten metal by its own weight to descend so far. Now, my pipe, which runs six cubits to the statue's foot, as I have said, is not thicker than two fingers. However, it was not worth the trouble and expense to make a larger; for I shall easily be able to mend what is lacking. But when my mould is more than half full, as I expect, from this middle point upwards, the fire ascending by its natural property, then the heads of Perseus and Medusa will come out admirably; you may be quite sure of it." After I had thus expounded these convincing arguments, together with many more of the same kind, which it would be tedious to set down here, the Duke shook his head and departed without further ceremony.

Abandoned thus to my own resources, I took new courage, and banished the sad thoughts which kept recurring to my mind, making me often weep bitter tears of repentance for having left France; for though I did so only to revisit Florence, my sweet birthplace, in order that I might charitably succour my six nieces, this good action, as I well perceived, had been the beginning of my great misfortune. Nevertheless, I felt convinced that when my Perseus was accomplished, all these trials would be turned to high felicity and glorious well-being.

Accordingly I strengthened my heart, and with all the forces of my body and my purse, employing what little money still remained to me, I set to work. First I provided myself with several loads of pinewood from the forests of Serristori, in the neighbourhood of Montelupo. While these were on their way, I clothed my Perseus with the clay which I had prepared many months beforehand, in order that it might be duly seasoned. After making its clay tunic (for that is the term used in this art) and properly arming it and fencing it with iron girders, I began to draw the wax out by means of a slow fire. This melted and issued through numerous airvents I had made; for the more there are of these, the better will the mould fill. When I had finished drawing off the wax, I constructed a funnel-shaped furnace all round the model of my Perseus. It was built of bricks, so interlaced, the one above the other, that numerous apertures were left for the fire to exhale at. Then I began to lay on wood by degrees, and kept it burning two whole days and nights. At length, when all the wax was gone, and the mould was well baked, I set to work at digging the pit in which

to sink it. This I performed with scrupulous regard to all the rules of art. When I had finished that part of my work, I raised the mould by windlasses and stout ropes to a perpendicular position, and suspending it with the greatest care one cubit above the level of the furnace, so that it hung exactly above the middle of the pit, I next lowered it gently down into the very bottom of the furnace, and had it firmly placed with every possible precaution for its safety. When this delicate operation was accomplished, I began to bank it up with the earth I had excavated; and, ever as the earth grew higher, I introduced its proper air-vents, which were little tubes of earthenware, such as folk use for drains and such-like purposes. At length, I felt sure that it was admirably fixed, and that the filling-in of the pit and the placing of the air-vents had been properly performed. I also could see that my work-people understood my method, which differed very considerably from that of all the other masters in the trade. Feeling confident, then, that I could rely upon them, I next turned to my furnace, which I had filled with numerous pigs of copper and other bronze stuff. The pieces were piled according to the laws of art, that is to say, so resting one upon the other that the flames could play freely through them, in order that the metal might heat and liquefy the sooner. At last I called out heartily to set the furnace going. The logs of pine were heaped in, and, what with the unctuous resin of the wood and the good draught I had given, my furnace worked so well that I was obliged to rush from side to side to keep it going. The labour was more than I could stand; yet I forced myself to strain every nerve and muscle. To increase my anxieties, the workshop took fire, and we were afraid lest the roof should fall upon our heads; while, from the garden, such a storm of wind and rain kept blowing in, that it perceptibly cooled the furnace.

Battling thus with all these untoward circumstances for several hours, and exerting myself beyond even the measure of my powerful constitution, I could at last bear up no longer, and a sudden fever, of the utmost possible intensity, attacked me. I felt absolutely obliged to go and fling myself upon my bed. Sorely against my will having to drag myself away from the spot, I turned to my assistants, about ten or more in all, what with master-founders, hand-workers, country-fellows, and my own special journeymen, among whom was Bernardino Mannellini of Mugello, my apprentice through several years. To him in particular I spoke: "Look, my dear Bernardino, that you observe the rules which I have taught you; do your best with all despatch, for the metal will soon be fused. You cannot go wrong; these honest men will get the channels ready; you will easily be able to drive back the two plugs with this pair of iron crooks; and I am sure that my mould will fill miraculously. I feel more ill than I ever did in all my life, and verily believe that it will kill me before a few hours are over." Thus, with despair at heart, I left them, and betook myself to bed.

No sooner had I got to bed, then I ordered my serving-maids to carry food and wine for all the men into the workshop; at the same time I cried: "I shall not be alive tomorrow." They tried to encourage me, arguing that my illness would pass over, since it came from excessive fatigue. In this way I spent two hours battling with the fever, which steadily increased, and calling out continu-

ally, "I feel that I am dying." My housekeeper, who was named Mona Fiore da Castel del Rio, a very notable manager and no less warm-hearted, kept chiding me for my discouragement; but, on the other hand, she paid me every kind attention which was possible. However, the sight of my physical pain and moral dejection so affected her, that, in spite of that brave heart of hers, she could not refrain from shedding tears; and yet, so far as she was able, she took good care I should not see them. While I was thus terribly afflicted, I beheld the figure of a man enter my chamber, twisted in his body into the form of a capital S. He raised a lamentable, doleful voice, like one who announces their last hour to men condemned to die upon the scaffold, and spoke these words: "O Benvenuto! your statue is spoiled, and there is no hope whatever of saving it." No sooner had I heard the shriek of that wretch than I gave a howl which might have been heard from the sphere of flame. Jumping from my bed, I seized my clothes and began to dress. The maids, and my lad, and every one who came around to help me, got kicks or blows of the fist, while I kept crying out in lamentation "Ah! traitors! enviers! This is an act of treason, done by malice prepense! But I swear by God that I will sift it to the bottom, and before I die will leave such witness to the world of what I can do as shall make a score of mortals marvel."

When I had got my clothes on, I strode with soul bent on mischief toward the workshop; there I beheld the men, whom I had left erewhile in such high spirits, standing stupefied and downcast. I began at once and spoke: "Up with you! Attend to me! Since you have not been able or willing to obey the directions I gave you, obey me now that I am with you to conduct my work in person. Let no one contradict me, for in cases like this we need the aid of hand and hearing, not of advice." When I had uttered these words, a certain Maestro Alessandro Lastricati broke silence and said: "Look you, Benvenuto, you are going to attempt an enterprise which the laws of art do not sanction, and which cannot succeed." I turned upon him with such fury and so full of mischief, that he and all the rest of them exclaimed with one voice: "On then! Give orders! We will obey your least commands, so long as life is left in us." I believe they spoke thus feelingly because they thought I must fall shortly dead upon the ground. I went immediately to inspect the furnace, and found that the metal was all curdled; an accident which we express by "being caked." I told two of the hands to cross the road, and fetch from the house of the butcher Capretta, a load of young oak-wood, which had lain dry for above a year; this wood had been previously offered me by Madame Ginevra, wife of the said Capretta. So soon as the first armfuls arrived, I began to fill the grate beneath the furnace. Now oak-wood of that kind heats more powerfully than any other sort of tree; and for this reason, where a slow fire is wanted, as in the case of gun-foundry, alder or pine is preferred. Accordingly, when the logs took fire, oh! how the cake began to stir beneath that awful heat, to glow and sparkle in a blaze! At the same time I kept stirring up the channels, and sent men upon the roof to stop the conflagration, which had gathered force from the increased combustion in the furnace; also I caused boards, carpets, and other hangings to be set up against the garden, in order to protect us from the violence of the rain.

When I had thus provided against these several disasters, I roared out first to one man and then to another: "Bring this thing here! Take that thing there!" At this crisis, when the whole gang saw the cake was on the point of melting, they did my bidding, each fellow working with the strength of three. I then ordered half a pig of pewter to be brought, which weighed about sixty pounds, and flung it into the middle of the cake inside the furnace. By this means, and by piling on wood and stirring now with pokers and now with iron rods, the curdled mass rapidly began to liquefy. Then, knowing I had brought the dead to life again, against the firm opinion of those ignoramuses, I felt such vigour fill my veins, that all those pains of fever, all those fears of death, were quite forgotten.

All of a sudden an explosion took place, attended by a tremendous flash of flame, as though a thunderbolt had formed and been discharged amongst us. Unwonted and appalling terror astonied every one, and me more even than the rest. When the din was over and the dazzling light extinguished, we began to look each other in the face. Then I discovered that the cap of the furnace had blown up, and the bronze was bubbling over from its source beneath. So I had the mouths of my mould immediately opened, and at the same time drove in the two plugs which kept back the molten metal. But I noticed that it did not flow as rapidly as usual, the reason being probably that the fierce heat of the fire we kindled had consumed its base alloy. Accordingly I sent for all my pewter platters, porringers, and dishes, to the number of some two hundred pieces, and had a portion of them cast, one by one, into the channels, the rest into the furnace. This expedient succeeded, and every one could now perceive that my bronze was in most perfect liquefaction, and my mould was filling; whereupon they all with heartiness and happy cheer assisted and obeyed my bidding, while I, now here, now there, gave orders, helped with my own hands, and cried aloud: "O God! Thou that by Thy immeasurable power didst rise from the dead, and in Thy glory didst ascend to heaven!" . . . even thus in a moment my mould was filled; and seeing my work finished, I fell upon my knees, and with all my heart gave thanks to God. . . .

After I had let my statue cool for two whole days, I began to uncover it by slow degrees. The first thing I found was that the head of Medusa had come out most admirably, thanks to the air-vents; for, as I had told the Duke, it is the nature of fire to ascend. Upon advancing farther, I discovered that the other head, that, namely, of Perseus, had succeeded no less admirably; and this astonished me far more, because it is at a considerably lower level than that of the Medusa. Now the mouths of the mould were placed above the head of Perseus and behind his shoulders; and I found that all the bronze my furnace contained had been exhausted in the head of this figure. It was a miracle to observe that not one fragment remained in the orifice of the channel, and that nothing was wanting to the statue. In my great astonishment I seemed to see in this the hand of God arranging and controlling all.

I went on uncovering the statue with success, and ascertained that everything had come out in perfect order, until I reached the foot of the right leg on

which the statue rests. There the heel itself was formed, and going farther, I found the foot apparently complete. This gave me great joy on the one side, but was half unwelcome to me on the other, merely because I had told the Duke that it could not come out. However, when I reached the end, it appeared that the toes and a little piece above them were unfinished, so that about half the foot was wanting. Although I knew that this would add a trifle to my labour, I was very well pleased, because I could now prove to the Duke how well I understood my business. It is true that far more of the foot than I expected had been perfectly formed; the reason of this was that, from causes I have recently described, the bronze was hotter than our rules of art prescribe; also that I had been obliged to supplement the alloy with my pewter cups and platters, which no one else, I think, had ever done before.

Having now ascertained how successfully my work had been accomplished, I lost no time in hurrying to Pisa, where I found the Duke. He gave me a most gracious reception, as did also the Duchess; and although the majordomo had informed them of the whole proceedings, their Excellencies deemed my performance far more stupendous and astonishing when they heard the tale from my own mouth. When I arrived at the foot of Perseus, and said it had not come out perfect, just as I previously warned his Excellency, I saw an expression of wonder pass over his face, while he related to the Duchess how I had predicted this beforehand. Observing the princes to be so well disposed towards me, I begged leave from the Duke to go to Rome. He granted it in most obliging terms, and bade me return as soon as possible to complete his Perseus; giving me letters of recommendation meanwhile to his ambassador, Averardo Serristori. We were then in the first years of Pope Giulio de Monti.* . . .

About this time the war of Siena broke out,† and the Duke, wishing to fortify Florence, distributed the gates among his architects and sculptors. I received the Prato gate and the little one of Arno, which is on the way to the mills. The Cavaliere Bandinello got the gate of San Friano; Pasqualino d'Ancona, the gate at San Pier Gattolini; Giulian di Baccio d'Agnolo, the wood-carver, had the gate of San Giorgio; Particino, the wood-carver, had the gate of Santo Niccolo; Francesco da San Gallo, the sculptor, called Il Margolla, got the gate of Santa Croce; and Giovan Battista, surnamed Il Tasso, the gate Pinti. Other bastions and gates were assigned to divers engineers, whose names I do not recollect, nor indeed am I concerned with them. The Duke, who certainly was at all times a man of great ability, went round the city himself upon a tour of inspection, and when he had made his mind up, he sent for Lattanzio Gorini, one of his paymasters. Now this man was to some extent an amateur of military architecture; so his Excellency commissioned him to make designs for the fortifications of the gates, and sent each of us his own gate drawn according

* Gio. Maria del Monte Sansovino was elected Pope, with the title of Julius III., in February 1550.

† In the year 1552, when Piero Strozzi acted as general for the French King, Henri II., against the Spaniards. The war ended in the capitulation of Siena in 1555. In 1557 it was ceded by Philip II. to Cosimo de' Medici.

to the plan. After examining the plan for mine, and perceiving that it was very incorrect in many details, I took it and went immediately to the Duke. When I tried to point out these defects, the Duke interrupted me and exclaimed with fury: "Benvenuto, I will give way to you upon the point of statuary, but in this art of fortification I choose that you should cede to me. So carry out the design which I have given you." To these brave words I answered as gently as I could, and said: "My lord, your most illustrious Excellency has taught me something even in my own fine art of statuary, inasmuch as we have always exchanged ideas upon that subject; I beg you then to deign to listen to me upon this matter of your fortifications, which is far more important than making statues. If I am permitted to discuss it also with your Excellency, you will be better able to teach me how I have to serve you." This courteous speech of mine induced him to discuss the plans with me; and when I had clearly demonstrated that they were not conceived on a right method, he said: "Go, then, and make a design yourself, and I will see if it satisfies me." Accordingly, I made two designs according to the right principles for fortifying those two gates, and took them to him; and when he distinguished the true from the false system, he exclaimed good-humouredly: "Go and do it in your own way, for I am content to have it so." I set to work then with the greatest diligence. . . .

During those days some antiquities had been discovered in the country round Arezzo. Among them was the Chimæra, that bronze lion which is to be seen in the rooms adjacent to the great hall of the palace. Together with the Chimæra a number of little statuettes, likewise in bronze, had been brought to light; they were covered with earth and rust, and each of them lacked either head or hands or feet. The Duke amused his leisure hours by cleaning up these statuettes himself with certain little chisels used by goldsmiths. It happened on one occasion that I had to speak on business to his Excellency; and while we were talking, he reached me a little hammer, with which I struck the chisels the Duke held, and so the figures were disengaged from their earth and rust. In this way we passed several evenings, and then the Duke commissioned me to restore the statuettes. He took so much pleasure in these trifles that he made me work by day also, and if I delayed coming, he used to send for me. I very often submitted to his Excellency that if I left my Perseus in the daytime, several bad consequences would ensue. The first of these, which caused me the greatest anxiety, was that, seeing me spend so long a time upon my statue, the Duke himself might get disgusted; which indeed did afterwards happen. The other was that I had several journeymen who in my absence were up to two kinds of mischief; first, they spoilt my piece, and then they did as little work as possible. These arguments made his Excellency consent that I should only go to the palace after twenty-four o'clock.

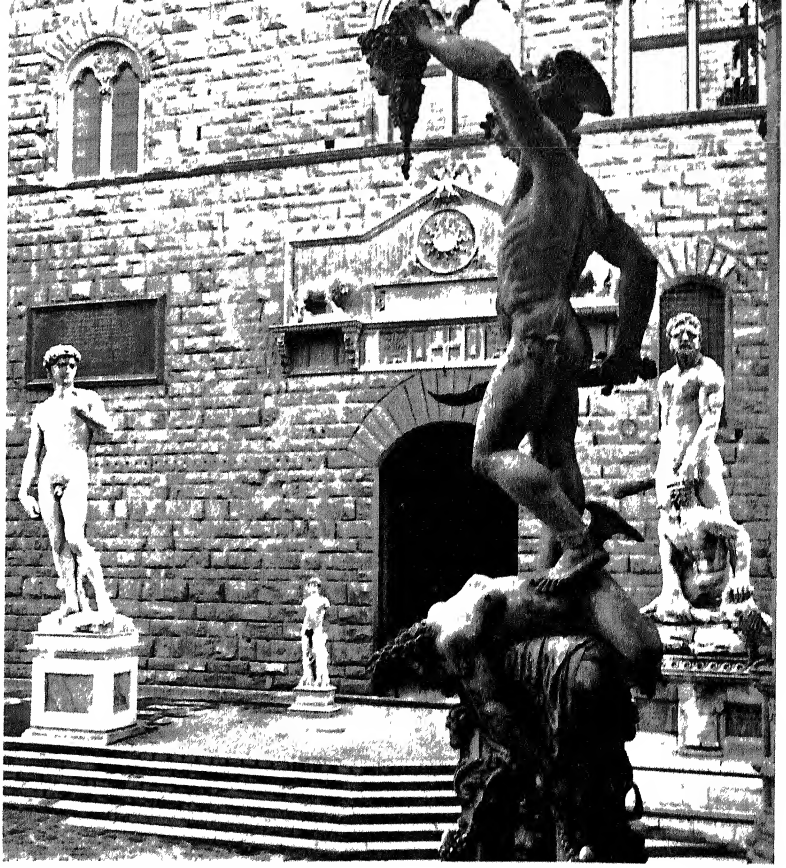
I had now conciliated the affection of his Excellency to such an extent, that every evening when I came to him he treated me with greater kindness. About this time the new apartments were built toward the lions; * the Duke then wishing to be able to retire into a less public part of the palace, fitted up

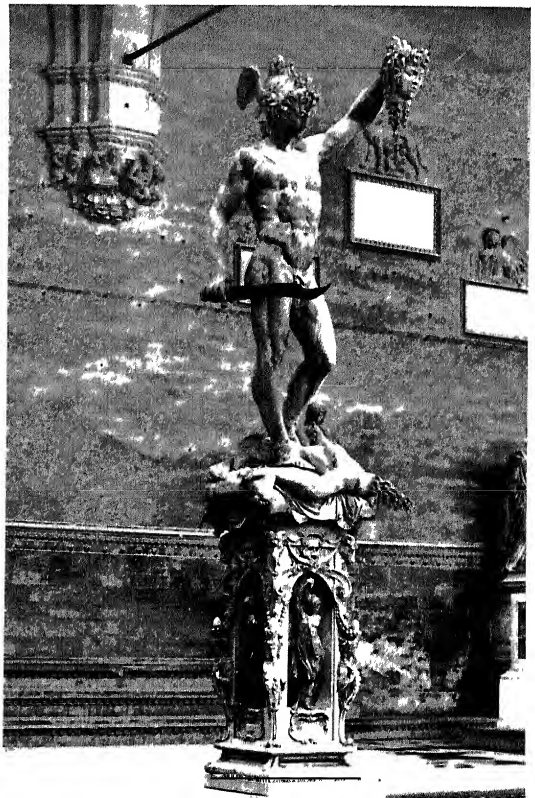
* Lions from a very early period had always been kept in part of the Palazzo Vecchio.

for himself a little chamber in these new lodgings, and ordered me approach to it by a private passage. I had to pass through his wardrobe, then across the stage of the great hall, and afterwards through certain little dark galleries and cabinets. The Duchess, however, after a few days, deprived me of this means of access by having all the doors upon the path I had to traverse locked up. The consequence was that every evening when I arrived at the palace, I had to wait a long while, because the Duchess occupied the cabinets for her personal necessities. Her habit of body was unhealthy, and so I never came without incommoding her. This and other causes made her hate the very sight of me. However, notwithstanding great discomforts and daily annoyances, I persevered in going. The Duke's orders, meanwhile, were so precise, that no sooner did I knock at those doors, than they were immediately opened, and I was allowed to pass freely where I chose. The consequence was that occasionally, while walking noiselessly and unexpectedly through the private rooms, I came upon the Duchess at a highly inconvenient moment. Bursting then into such a furious storm of rage that I was frightened, she cried out: "When will you ever finish mending up those statuettes? Upon my word, this perpetual going and coming of yours has grown to be too great a nuisance." I replied as gently as I could: "My lady and sole mistress, I have no other desire than to serve you loyally and with the strictest obedience. This work to which the Duke has put me will last several months; so tell me, most illustrious Excellency, whether you wish me not to come here any more. In that case I will not come, whoever calls me; nay, should the Duke himself send for me, I shall reply that I am ill, and by no means will I intrude again." To this speech she made answer: "I do not bid you not to come, nor do I bid you to disobey the Duke; but I repeat that your work seems to me as though it would never be finished."

Whether the Duke heard something of this encounter, or whatever the cause was, he began again as usual. Toward twenty-four o'clock he sent for me; and his messenger always spoke to this effect: "Take good care, and do not fail to come, for the Duke is waiting for you." In this way I continued, always with the same inconveniences, to put in an appearance on several successive evenings. . . .

Another evening, after I had finished the small bronze figures which are wrought into the pedestal of Perseus, that is to say, the Jupiter, Mercury, Minerva, and Danae, with the little Perseus seated at his mother's feet, I had them carried into the room where I was wont to work, and arranged them in a row, raised somewhat above the line of vision, so that they produced a magnificent effect. The Duke heard of this, and made his entrance sooner than usual. It seems that the person who informed his Excellency praised them above their merit, using terms like "far superior to the ancients," and so forth; wherefore the Duke came talking pleasantly with the Duchess about my doings. I rose at once and went to meet them. With his fine and truly princely manner he received me, lifting his right hand, in which he held as superb a pear-graft as could possibly be seen. "Take it, my Benvenuto!" he exclaimed; "plant this pear in your garden." To these words I replied with a delighted gesture: "O my Lord, does your most illustrious Excellency really mean that I should plant it in the





Two views of Cellini's *Perseus and Medusa* in the Loggia dei Lanzi.

garden of my house?" "Yes," he said, "in the garden of the house which belongs to you. Have you understood me?" I thanked his Excellency, and the Duchess in like manner, with the best politeness I could use.

After this they both took seats in front of the statues, and for more than two hours went on talking about nothing but the beauties of the work. The Duchess was wrought up to such an enthusiasm that she cried out: "I do not like to let those exquisite figures be wasted on the pedestal down there in the piazza, where they will run the risk of being injured. I would much rather have you fix them in one of my apartments, where they will be preserved with the respect due to their singular artistic qualities." I opposed this plan with many forcible arguments; but when I saw that she was determined I should not place them on the pedestal where they now stand, I waited till next day, and went to the palace about twenty-two o'clock. Ascertaining that the Duke and Duchess were out riding, and having already prepared the pedestal, I had the statues carried down, and soldered them with lead into their proper niches. Oh, when the Duchess knew of this, how angry she was! Had it not been for the Duke, who manfully defended me, I should have paid dearly for my daring. Her indignation about the pearls, and now again about this matter of the statues, made her so contrive that the Duke abandoned his amusements in our workshop. Consequently I went there no more, and was met again with the same obstructions as formerly whenever I wanted to gain access to the palace.

I returned to the Loggia, whither my Perseus had already been brought, and went on putting the last touches to my work, under the old difficulties always; that is to say, lack of money, and a hundred untoward accidents, the half of which would have cowed a man armed with adamant. . . .

When the Duke was informed that the whole of my work for the Perseus could be exhibited as finished, he came one day to look at it. His manner showed clearly that it gave him great satisfaction; but afterwards he turned to some gentlemen attending him and said: "Although this statue seems in our eyes a very fine piece, still it has yet to win the favour of the people. Therefore, my Benvenuto, before you put the very last touches on, I should like you, for my sake, to remove a part of the scaffolding on the side of the piazza, some day toward noon, in order that we may learn what folk think of it. There is no doubt that when it is thrown open to space and light, it will look very differently from what it does in this enclosure." I replied with all humility to his Excellency: "You must know, my lord, that it will make more than twice as good a show. Oh, how is it that your most illustrious Excellency has forgotten seeing it in the garden of my house? There, in that large extent of space, it showed so bravely that Bandinello, coming through the garden of the Innocents to look at it, was compelled, in spite of his evil and malignant nature, to praise it, he who never praised aught or any one in all his life! I perceive that your Excellency lends too ready an ear to that fellow." When I had done speaking, he smiled ironically and a little angrily; yet he replied with great kindness: "Do what I ask, my Benvenuto, just to please me."

When the Duke had left, I gave orders to have the screen removed. Yet

some trifles of gold, varnish, and various other little finishings were still wanting; wherefore I began to murmur and complain indignantly, cursing the unhappy day which brought me to Florence. Too well I knew already the great and irreparable sacrifice I made when I left France; nor could I discover any reasonable ground for hope that I might prosper in the future with my prince and patron. From the commencement to the middle and the ending, everything that I had done had been performed to my great disadvantage. Therefore, it was with deep ill-humour that I disclosed my statue on the following day.

Now it pleased God that, on the instant of its exposure to view, a shout of boundless enthusiasm went up in commendation of my work, which consoled me not a little. The folk kept on attaching sonnets to the posts of the door, which was protected with a curtain while I gave the last touches to the statue. I believe that on the same day when I opened it a few hours to the public, more than twenty were nailed up, all of them overflowing with the highest panegyrics. Afterwards, when I once more shut it off from view, every day brought sonnets, with Latin and Greek verses; for the University of Pisa was then in vacation, and all the doctors and scholars kept vying with each other who could praise it best. But what gratified me most, and inspired me with most hope of the Duke's support, was that the artists, sculptors and painters alike, entered into the same generous competition. I set the highest value on the eulogies of that excellent painter Jacopo Pontormo, and still more on those of his able pupil Bronzino, who was not satisfied with merely publishing his verses, but sent them by his lad Sandrino's hand to my own house. They spoke so generously of my performance, in that fine style of his which is most exquisite, that this alone repaid me somewhat for the pain of my long troubles. So then I closed the screen, and once more set myself to finishing my statue.

The great compliments which this short inspection of my Perseus had elicited from the noble school of Florence, though they were well known to the Duke, did not prevent him from saying: "I am delighted that Benvenuto has had this trifling satisfaction, which will spur him on to the desired conclusion with more speed and diligence. Do not, however, let him imagine that, when his Perseus shall be finally exposed to view from all sides, folk in general will be so lavish of their praises. On the contrary, I am afraid that all its defects will then be brought home to him, and more will be detected than the statue really has. So let him arm himself with patience." These were precisely the words which Bandinello had whispered in the Duke's ears, citing the works of Andrea del Verrocchio, who made that fine bronze of Christ and S. Thomas on the front of Orsammichele; at the same time he referred to many other statues, and dared even to attack the marvellous David of divine Michel Agnolo Buonarroti, accusing it of only looking well if seen in front; finally, he touched upon the multitude of sarcastic sonnets which were called forth by his own Hercules and Cacus, and wound up with abusing the people of Florence. Now the Duke, who was too much inclined to credit his assertions, encouraged the fellow to speak thus, and thought in his own heart that things would go as he had prophesied, because that envious creature Bandinello never ceased insinuating malice. On

one occasion it happened that the gallows bird Bernardone, the broker, was present at these conversations, and in support of Bandinello's calumnies, he said to the Duke: "You must remember, prince, that statues on a large scale are quite a different dish of soup from little figures. I do not refuse him the credit of being excellent at statuettes in miniature. But you will soon see that he cannot succeed in that other sphere of art." To these vile suggestions he added many others of all sorts, plying his spy's office, and piling up a mountain of lies to boot.

Now it pleased my glorious Lord and immortal God that at last I brought the whole work to completion: and on a certain Thursday morning I exposed it to the public gaze. [April 27, 1554.] Immediately, before the sun was fully in the heavens, there assembled such a multitude of people that no words could describe them. All with one voice contended which should praise it most. The Duke was stationed at a window low upon the first floor of the palace, just above the entrance; there, half hidden, he heard everything the folk were saying of my statue. After listening through several hours, he rose so proud and happy in his heart that he turned to his attendant, Messer Sforza, and exclaimed: "Sforza, go and seek out Benvenuto; tell him from me that he has delighted me far more than I expected: say too that I shall reward him in a way which will astonish him; so bid him be of good courage."

In due course, Messer Sforza discharged this glorious embassy, which consoled me greatly. I passed a happy day, partly because of the Duke's message, and also because the folk kept pointing me out as something marvellous and strange. . . .

When two more days had passed, and the chorus of praise was ever on the increase, I resolved to go and present myself to the Duke, who said with great good-humour: "My Benvenuto, you have satisfied and delighted me; but I promise that I will reward you in such wise as will make you wonder; and I tell you that I do not mean to delay beyond tomorrow." On hearing this most welcome assurance, I turned all the forces of my soul and body to God, fervently offering up thanks to Him. At the same moment I approached the Duke, and almost weeping for gladness, kissed his robe. Then I added: "O my glorious prince, true and most generous lover of the arts, and of those who exercise them! I entreat your most illustrious Excellency to allow me eight days first to go and return thanks to God; for I alone know what travail I have endured, and that my earnest faith has moved Him to assist me. In gratitude for this and all other marvellous mercies, I should like to travel eight days on pilgrimage, continually thanking my immortal God, who never fails to help those who call upon Him with sincerity." The Duke then asked me where I wished to go. I answered: "To-morrow I shall set out for Vallombrosa, thence to Camaldoli and the Ermo, afterwards I shall proceed to the Bagni di Santa Maria, and perhaps so far as Sestile, because I hear of fine antiquities to be seen there. Then I shall retrace my steps by San Francesco della Vernia, and, still with thanks to God, return light-hearted to your service." The Duke replied at once with cheerful kindness: "Go and come back again, for of a truth you please me; but do not forget to send a couple of lines by way of memorandum, and leave the rest to me." . . .

Questions for Thought

What was the position of the artist in Renaissance society? What characteristics did Cellini have in common with men like Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo? Are there evidences of Humanism or its influence in Cellini's life and work, or in the interests of Duke Cosimo and his court? What characterized "Renaissance Man"?

SOURCE OF SELECTIONS

(1) John Addington Symonds, ed. and trans., *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini Written by Himself* (New York, 1906), II, 209-300, seriatim. The footnotes are those of Symonds except where otherwise indicated, and some of his have been omitted.

PART III

The New Realism of Machiavelli

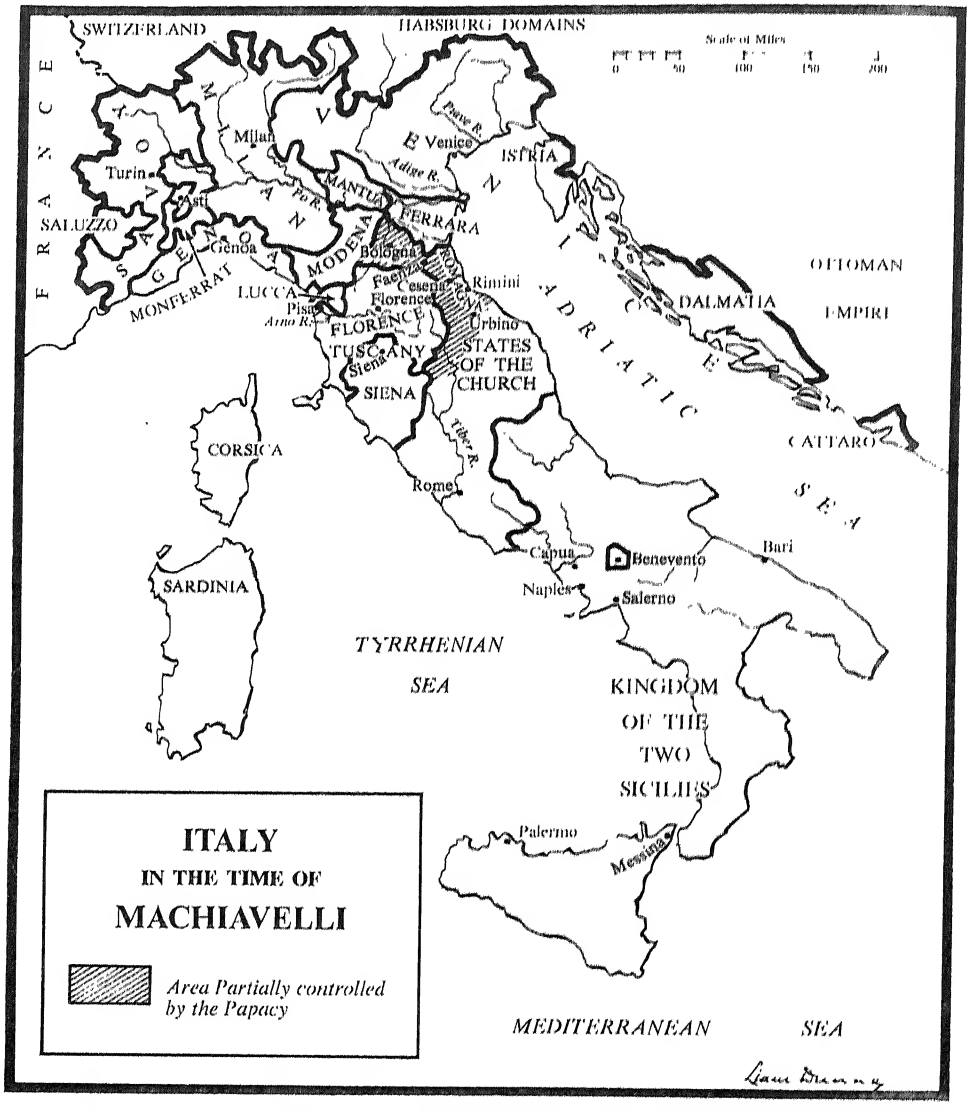
Machiavelli's *The Prince* was written in 1513. Controversy over it has been unending, yet virtually all students of the book have agreed on its great importance. Some have considered it an evil influence; others have argued in reply that it was an important first attempt to analyze man's political behavior with scientific objectivity. Still other students have preferred to stress that it vividly illuminates the system of power politics that has developed in Europe's international affairs over the centuries from Machiavelli's day to our own.

Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469 and grew up in the prosperous days when the city was ruled despotically by Lorenzo de' Medici, the magnificent amateur of the arts of the Renaissance. The son of an undistinguished lawyer, the young man sought a career as a city government official. In 1494, when he was twenty-five years old, French armies invaded Italy. His life was to be lived in the shadow of this event.

The French invasion transformed the Renaissance from an Italian into a Western European movement. For nearly two centuries the small Italian states had been competing and developing their own Renaissance life in relative isolation. France had been kept weak and preoccupied by the Hundred Years War with England, the Spanish kingdoms had been at odds with one another, and the German Empire had lost its effective unity in the thirteenth century. But now the French kings had recovered their strength and were disposed to take a hand again in the restless politics of Italy. The Spaniards, united under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, were equally ready to counter any French advances in the Mediterranean world. Foreign armies marched through Italy with humiliating ease, year after year.

The shock of the French invasion was immediate in Florence. It toppled the Medici government, then headed by Lorenzo's playboy son, and caused in reaction a fervent religious revival under the friar Savonarola. But the revival was short-lived, and in 1498 Savonarola was burned at the stake by his erstwhile converts. One month later the young Machiavelli became secretary and diplomatic agent for one of the councils that headed the continuing republican government of Florence.

He held this post for fourteen years, until in 1512 another sharp turn of the international wheel overthrew this government and brought back the Medici family. Machiavelli was forced into retirement, where his only recourse was to brood, to write, and to scheme to get back into some office. For, although there is no sign that his superiors had thought especially highly of him, his letters and reports from 1498 to 1512 reveal him as an intense and eager specialist in politics, sure that he, unlike other men, understood clearly the general truths



The northern part of the States of the Church professed allegiance to the pope but was in fact composed of a number of almost independent city states. It was in this area that Pope Alexander VI supported the efforts of his son Caesar to create a base from which the Borgias could control Central Italy.

illustrated by any particular event. This evidence includes, for example, reports from his three-month mission at the camp of Caesar Borgia, the adventurer son of Pope Alexander VI, whose ruthless attempt to carve out a kingdom or state for himself was a threat to Florence in 1502-1503.

What was Machiavelli, out of employment and only in his early forties, to do now? The new Medici government had briefly imprisoned him and put him to the rack on suspicion of conspiracy; in 1513 he was living in lonely retirement on his farm. A letter written to a friend gives a touching picture of what

it meant to him to read works of Roman literature and history, as an escape into a world of his own:

> *the ancient courts of men of old, where I am welcomed kindly and fed on that fare which is mine alone, and for which I was born: where I am not ashamed to address them and ask them the reasons for their action, and they reply considerately; and for two hours I forget all my cares, I know no more trouble, death loses its terrors. . . .*

The same letter indicates that he was drawing on this reading to put together a book analyzing the nature of governments. This was presumably the work he completed years later as *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius*. But at some point, evidently within a few months of the letter, he hurriedly wrote a smaller book. This he addressed to the new Medici ruler of Florence, who was a nephew of the reigning pope, Leo X, and named Lorenzo like his grandfather. If this small book, *The Prince*, was seriously intended as a job application, it was not at all successful. But it expressed all the bitterness and vividness of Machiavelli's view of things in that year 1513.

Machiavelli never again secured a seat at the game of power politics. His writings in time earned him the respect of a later Medici pope, Clement VII, who assigned him a few minor tasks in 1526 and saw to it that *The Prince* was published after the author's death. The final turn of the wheel came quickly. In 1527 the Pope suffered a sharp political reverse, and the Holy Roman Emperor's troops sacked Rome itself. In Florence the republicans seized the opportunity to throw off Medici control. Machiavelli immediately applied for his old post of secretary. Before the news could reach him that his application had been overwhelmingly voted down, he became ill and died.

Machiavelli's *The Prince* is one of the most important books in the history of political philosophy. Its argument cuts close to the heart of the problem of government, a problem that is so fatefully difficult in the twentieth century. The following selections depart somewhat from the order of the book only for the sake of a better grasp of the basic issues with which it confronts us. In what way was Machiavelli a representative figure of the Renaissance? How perceptive was his insight?

A. Machiavelli's New Approach to Politics

The essential novelty of The Prince *stands out clearly when it is compared with its predecessors, the innumerable books "for the instruction of a Christian prince" that had been composed by highly placed moralists over the centuries since Charlemagne. These were likely to be collections of pious platitudes about the duties of a ruler and the good qualities he should have. The character of Machiavelli's* The Prince *can be judged from the following representative selections.*

—According to Machiavelli, what value would his study of politics have for rulers?
—Does the book at any point after its opening read as if it were simply advice written for a particular reason to one particular prince?
—How does the kind of reasoning Machiavelli employed compare with that of a medieval scholastic?

1. DEDICATION: NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI TO THE MOST MAGNIFICENT LORENZO DE' MEDICI (1)

Those who court the favor of princes present them with whatever they possess that is rare, curious, or valuable, as horses, armor, cloth of gold and precious stones, worthy of their greatness. For my part, my desire to present myself to the notice of your Highness, with the best proof of my devotion, has not enabled me to discover, amongst all I possess, anything that I esteem more, or account so valuable, as a knowledge of the actions of celebrated men—a knowledge acquired by a long experience of modern times and a diligent perusal of ancient writers. . . . You will find in this fragment neither a glowing or lofty style, nor any of those meretricious ornaments with which writers seek to embellish their works. Its interest must depend upon the importance of the subject, the solidity of the reflections, and the truth of the facts recorded. . . . I am therefore bold enough to hope that you will accept this feeble tribute in the spirit in which it is offered; and if you condescend to read it with attention, you will find evidence of my ardent desire to see you fill gloriously those high destinies to which fortune and your splendid talents have called you. If from your elevated place you should condescend to look down on a person in my lowly station, you will see how long and how unworthily I have been persecuted by the extreme and unrelenting malevolence of fortune.

• • • • •

2. CHAPTER XIV: THE DUTIES OF A PRINCE WITH REGARD TO HIS MILITARY FORCE

Princes ought, therefore, to make the art of war their sole study and occupation, for it is peculiarly the science of those that govern. War and the several sorts of discipline and institutions relative to it should be his only study, the only profession he should follow, and the object he ought always to have in view. By this means princes can maintain possession of their dominions; and private individuals are sometimes raised thereby to supreme authority; while, on the other hand, we frequently see princes shamefully reduced to nothing by suffering themselves to be enfeebled by slothful inactivity. I repeat, therefore, that by a neglect of this art states are lost, and by cultivating it they are acquired.

Francesco Sforza, from a lower station, gained the rank of Duke of Milan, by having an army always at his disposal; and by a deviation from this rule

his children, who succeeded to the dukedom, were reduced to the station of private individuals. And this is not surprising: for nothing is so likely to impair our esteem for the character of a prince as to see him destitute of a military force; and, as I shall endeavor to prove hereafter, a prince should most particularly beware of falling into general contempt.

We cannot establish a comparison between men that are armed and those that are not; and it would be equally absurd to suppose that the unarmed should command and the others obey. A prince that is ignorant of the art of war never can enjoy repose or safety amongst armed subjects; he will always be to them an object of contempt, as they to him will justly be subjects of suspicion; how is it possible then that they should act in concert? In short, a prince that does not understand the art of war can never be esteemed by his troops, nor can he ever confide in them.

It is necessary therefore that princes should pay their whole attention to the art of war, which includes mental labor and study as well as the military exercise. To begin with the latter, the prince should take the utmost care that his troops be well disciplined and regularly exercised. The chase is well adapted to inure the body to fatigue, and to all the extremes of weather. This exercise will also teach one to observe the sources and situations, as well as the nature, of rivers and marshes; to measure the extent of plains and the declivity of mountains. By these means he will acquire a knowledge of the topography of a country that he has to defend, and will easily habituate himself to select the places where war may be best carried on. For the plains and valleys of Tuscany resemble those of other countries; so that a perfect knowledge of one will enable him to form a tolerably accurate judgment of the other.

This study is particularly useful to commanders. A general that neglects it will never know where to look for an enemy, nor how to conduct his troops, nor to encamp, nor the proper time to attack. . . .

• • • • •

3. CHAPTER XXI: HOW A PRINCE MUST ACT TO GAIN RENOWN

Nothing is more likely to make a prince esteemed than great enterprises and extraordinary actions. Ferdinand, the present King of Spain, may be considered as a new prince, because he has advanced himself from a petty state to be the most renowned monarch in Christendom. If we examine his actions, we find they all deserve to be accounted great, and some of them indeed are splendid.

Scarcely was this prince seated on the throne when he turned his arms against the kingdom of Grenada; and this war laid the foundation of his greatness, in which he met with no impediment, for the nobles of Castile were so intent on the invasion that they wholly disregarded his political innovations. In the mean time he insensibly established a dominion over them, by maintaining

armies at the expense of the Church and people, and by disciplining them in such a manner as made his power irresistible. Afterward, in order that he might undertake enterprises still more brilliant, he dextrously assumed the mask of religion, and by a cruel piety drove the Moors out of his dominions. The means he took for this enterprise were, without doubt, barbarous; yet the exploit was extraordinary and almost unexampled.

Ferdinand, under the same cloak of religion, afterward attacked Africa, Italy, and France, always having some great design in view, the event of which kept his subjects in continual suspense and admiration. And those enterprises succeeded one another so speedily that his subjects had no leisure to think of other matters, much less to engage in conspiracies against him.

It is also of great service to a prince to afford rare examples of civil administration, especially when it is necessary to reward or punish in an exemplary manner, for the extraordinary good or evil that his subjects may have done. Barnabas, lord of Milan, was in that respect an example worthy of imitation. A prince should also invest his actions with a character of greatness, and, above all things, avoid weakness and indecision. He must be a firm friend or an open foe, otherwise he will with difficulty conciliate his subjects. Should two powerful neighbors go to war, he must declare for one of them, or he will inevitably become the prey of the conqueror; and the vanquished party will be gratified at his ruin, and thus he will lose all protection; for the conqueror will despise a doubtful friend, who may abandon him on the first reverse of fortune, and the vanquished will never pardon him for remaining a tranquil spectator of his defeat. . . .

A prince ought never, as I have already observed, unless under the pressure of circumstances, to espouse the part of a neighboring state more powerful than himself; because he lies at the mercy of his neighbor should he be the conqueror. Thus the Venetians were ruined by unnecessarily allying themselves with France against the Duke of Milan. The Florentines, on the other hand, could not be blamed for embracing the cause of the Pope and the King of Spain, when they marched their forces against Lombardy; because, by adopting this step, they yielded to the dictates of necessity. After all, no party can be absolutely sure of success, and sometimes one danger is avoided only to encounter a greater; the utmost that human prudence can do in such extremities, is to choose the lesser evil.

Princes ought to honor talents and protect the arts, particularly commerce and agriculture. It is peculiarly important that those who follow such pursuits should be secure from all dread of being overcharged with taxes and despoiled of their lands after they have improved them by superior cultivation. Finally, they should not neglect to entertain the people at certain periods of the year with festivals and shows, and they should honor with their presence the trading companies and corporations, and display on such occasions the greatest affability and facility of access, always remembering to support their station with becoming dignity, which never should be lost sight of, under any circumstances.

4. CHAPTER XXIII: HOW A PRINCE OUGHT TO AVOID FLATTERERS

I must not forget to mention one evil against which princes should ever be on guard, and which they cannot avoid except by the greatest prudence; and this evil is the flattery that reigns in every court. Men have so much self-love, and so good an opinion of themselves, that it is very difficult to avoid such contagion. . . . For princes have no other way of guarding against flatterers than by showing that the truth will not offend. Yet if everyone had the privilege of uttering his sentiments with impunity, what would become of the respect due to the majesty of the sovereign? A prudent prince should take a middle course, and make choice of some discreet men in his state, to whom alone he may give the liberty of telling him the truth on such subjects as he shall require information concerning. He ought undoubtedly to interrogate them, and hear their opinions upon every subject of importance, and determine afterward according to his own judgment, conducting himself at all times in such a manner as to convince everyone that the more freely he speaks the more acceptable he will be. After which he should listen to nobody else, but proceed firmly and steadily in the execution of what he has determined.

A prince that acts otherwise is either bewildered by the adulation of flatterers or loses all respect and consideration by the uncertain and wavering conduct he is obliged to pursue. . . .

A prince ought to take the opinions of others in everything, but only at such times as it pleases himself, and not whenever they are obtruded upon him, so that no one shall presume to give him advice when he does not request it. He ought to be inquisitive, and listen with attention; and when he perceives any one hesitate to tell him the full truth, he ought to evince the utmost displeasure at such conduct.

They are much mistaken who imagine that a prince who listens to the counsel of others will be but little esteemed, and thought incapable of acting on his own judgment. It is an infallible rule that a prince that does not possess an intelligent mind of his own can never be well advised, unless he is entirely governed by the advice of an able minister, on whom he may repose the whole cares of government; but in this case he runs a great risk of being stripped of his authority by the very person to whom he has so indiscreetly confided his power. And if, instead of one counselor, he has several, how can he, ignorant and uninformed as he is, conciliate the various and opposite opinions of ministers that are probably more intent on their own interests than on those of the state, and that without his suspecting it?

Besides, men, being naturally wicked, incline to good only when they are compelled to it; whence we may conclude that good counsel, come from what quarter it may, is owing entirely to the wisdom of the prince, and the wisdom of the prince does not arise from the goodness of the counsel.

5. CHAPTER XXV: HOW FAR FORTUNE INFLUENCES THE THINGS OF THIS WORLD AND HOW FAR SHE MAY BE RESISTED

I know that several have thought, and many still are of opinion, that all sublunary events are governed either by Divine Providence or by chance, in such a manner that human wisdom has no share in their direction; and hence they infer that man should abstain from interfering with their course, and leave everything to its natural tendency.

The revolutions that in our times are of such frequent recurrence, seem to support this doctrine, and I own that I myself am almost inclined to favor such opinions, particularly when I consider how far those events surpass all human conjecture; yet, as we confessedly possess a free will, it must, I think, be admitted that chance does not so far govern the world as to leave no province for the exercise of human prudence.

For my own part, I cannot help comparing the blind power of chance to a rapid river, which, having overflowed its banks, inundates the plain, uproots trees, carries away houses and lands, and sweeps all before it in its destructive progress; everybody flies, possessing neither resolution nor power to oppose its fury. But this should not discourage us, when the river has returned within its natural limits, from constructing dikes and banks to prevent a recurrence of similar disasters. It is the same with fortune; she exercises her power when we set no barrier to her progress. . . .

B. Machiavelli's Advice on Morality

The heart of the controversy over Machiavelli's The Prince *has been its chapters on the relation between morality and politics. Halfway through the book Machiavelli turned from questions of force and military affairs to consider the moral qualities that had usually been expected of rulers.*

—How did Machiavelli appraise normal human nature?
—What relationship did he establish between the morality of princes and the facts of human nature?
—What could explain his remark that a man would sooner forget the loss of his father than the loss of his patrimony?
—To what extent were Machiavelli's conclusions on morality conditioned by time and place? Is this significant?

1. CHAPTER XV: THE THINGS FOR WHICH MEN, AND ESPECIALLY PRINCES, ARE PRAISED OR BLAMED (1)

It now remains to show in what manner a prince should behave to his subjects and friends. This matter having been already discussed by others, it may

seem arrogant in me to pursue it farther, especially if I should differ in opinion from them; but as I write only for those who possess sound judgment, I thought it better to treat this subject as it really is, in fact, than to amuse the imagination with visionary models of republics and governments that never have existed. For the manner in which men now live is so different from the manner in which they ought to live, that he who deviates from the common course of practice, and endeavors to act as duty dictates, necessarily ensures his own destruction. Thus, a good man, and one that wishes to prove himself so in all respects, must be undone in a contest with so many that are evilly disposed. A prince that wishes to maintain his power ought to learn that he should not be always good.

Laying aside, then, the false ideas that have been formed as to princes, and adhering only to those that are true, I say that all men, and especially princes, are marked and distinguished by some quality or other that entails either reputation or dishonor. For instance, men are liberal or parsimonious, honorable or dishonorable, effeminate and cowardly or courageous and enterprising, humane or cruel, affable or haughty, wise or debauched, honest or dishonest, good tempered or surly, sedate or inconsiderate, religious or impious, and so forth.

It would, doubtless, be happy for a prince to unite in himself every species of good quality; but as our nature does not allow so great a perfection, a prince should have prudence enough to avoid those defects and vices that may occasion his ruin; and he ought, if possible, to guard against those . . . [that may] compromise his safety and the possession of his dominions; but if he cannot succeed in this, he need not embarrass himself in escaping the scandal of those vices, but should devote his whole energies to avoid those that may cause his ruin. He should not shrink from encountering some blame on account of vices that are important to the support of his states; for, everything well considered, there are some things, having the appearance of virtues, that would prove the ruin of a prince should he put them in practice, and others upon which, though they are seemingly bad and vicious, his actual welfare and security depend.

2. CHAPTER XVI: LIBERALITY AND ECONOMY

To begin with the first qualities of the above-mentioned, I must observe that it is for the interest of a prince to be accounted liberal, but dangerous so to exercise his liberality that he is thereby neither feared nor respected. I will explain myself. If a prince be liberal only as far as it suits his purposes, that is to say, within certain bounds, he will please but few and will be called selfish. A prince that wishes to gain the reputation of being liberal should be regardless of expense; but then, to support this reputation, he will often be reduced to the necessity of levying taxes on his subjects and adopting every species of fiscal resource, which cannot fail to make him odious. Besides exhausting the public treasure by his prodigality, his credit will be destroyed, and he will incur the risk of losing his dominions on the first reverse of fortune, his liberality, as always happens,

having ensured him more enemies than friends. And, which is worse, he cannot retrace his steps and replenish his finances without being charged with avarice.

A prince, therefore, that cannot be liberal without prejudicing his state, should not trouble himself much about the imputation of being covetous; for he will be esteemed liberal in time, when people see that by parsimony he has improved his revenue, and become able to defend his dominions and even to undertake useful enterprises without the aid of new taxes; then the many from whom he takes nothing will deem him sufficiently liberal, and only the few whose expectations he has failed to realize will accuse him of avarice. . . .

3. CHAPTER XVII: CRUELTY AND CLEMENCY; WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO BE LOVED THAN FEARED

. . . It has been sometimes asked whether it is better to be loved than feared; to which I answer that one should wish to be both. But as that is a hard matter to accomplish, I think, if it is necessary to make a selection, that it is safer to be feared than to be loved. For it may be truly affirmed of mankind in general that they are ungrateful, fickle, timid, dissembling, and self-interested; so long as you can serve them, they are entirely devoted to you; their wealth, their blood, their lives, and even their offspring are at your disposal, when you have no occasion for them; but in your day of need they turn their back upon you. The prince that relies on professions courts his own destruction, because the friends whom he acquires by means of money alone, and whose attachment does not spring from a regard for personal merit, are seldom proof against reverse of fortune, but abandon their benefactor when he most requires their services. Men are usually more inclined to submit to him who makes himself dreaded than to one who merely strives to be beloved; and the reason is obvious, for friendship of this kind, being a mere moral tie, a species of duty resulting from a benefit, cannot endure against the calculations of interest; whereas fear carries with it the dread of punishment, which never loses its influence. A prince, however, ought to make himself feared in such a manner that if he cannot gain the love of his subjects he may at least avoid their hatred; and he may attain this object by respecting his subjects' property and the honor of their wives. If he finds it absolutely necessary to inflict the punishment of death, he should avow the reason for it, and, above all things, he should not touch the property of the condemned. For certain it is that men sooner forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. Besides when a prince begins to live by means of robbery, there will be many occasions for seizing the wealth of his subjects; but there will be little or no necessity for shedding blood. But when a prince is at the head of his army, and has under his command a multitude of soldiers, then he should pay little heed to being esteemed cruel; such a character will be useful to him by keeping his troops in obedience and preventing every species of faction. . . .

4. CHAPTER XVIII: WHETHER PRINCES OUGHT TO BE FAITHFUL TO THEIR ENGAGEMENTS

It is unquestionably very praiseworthy in princes to be faithful to their engagements; but among those of the present day that have been distinguished for great exploits, few indeed have been remarkable for this virtue, or have scrupled to deceive others who may have relied on their good faith.

It should, therefore, be known that there are two ways of deciding any contest: the one by laws, the other by force. The first is peculiar to men, the second to beasts; but when laws are not sufficiently powerful, it is necessary to recur to force. A prince ought, therefore, to understand how to use both these means. This doctrine is admirably illustrated to us by the ancient poets in the allegorical history of the education of Achilles and many other princes of antiquity, by the centaur Chiron, who, under the double form of man and beast, taught those that were destined to govern, that it was their duty to use by turns the arms adapted to both these natures, seeing that one without the other cannot be of any durable advantage. As a prince must learn how to act the part of a beast sometimes, he should make the fox and the lion his patterns. The first can but feebly defend himself against the wolf, and the latter readily falls into such snares as are laid for him. From the fox, therefore, a prince will learn dexterity in avoiding snares; and from the lion, how to employ his strength to keep the wolves in awe. But they that entirely rely upon the lion's strength, will not always meet with success: in other words, a prudent prince cannot and ought not to keep his word, except when he can do it without injury to himself, or when the circumstances under which he contracted the engagement still exist.

I should be cautious in inculcating such a precept if all men were good; but as the generality of mankind are wicked, and ever ready to break their word, a prince should not pique himself on keeping his more scrupulously, especially as it is always easy to justify a breach of faith on his part. I could give numerous proofs of this, and show numberless engagements and treaties that have been violated by the treachery of princes, and that those who enacted the part of the fox have always succeeded best in their affairs. But it is necessary to disguise the appearance of craft, and thoroughly to understand the art of feigning and dissembling; for men generally are so simple and so weak that he who wishes to deceive easily finds dupes.

One example, taken from the history of our own times, will be sufficient. Pope Alexander VI played during his whole life a game of deception; and though his faithless conduct was extremely well known, his artifices always proved successful. Oaths and protestations cost him nothing; never did a prince so often break his word or pay less regard to his engagements. This was because he so well understood this chapter in the art of government.

It is not necessary, however, for a prince to possess all the good qualities I have enumerated, but it is indispensable that he should appear to have them. I will even venture to affirm, that it is sometimes dangerous to use them, though

it is always useful to appear to possess them. A prince should earnestly endeavor to gain the reputation of kindness, clemency, piety, justice, and fidelity to his engagements. He should possess all these good qualities, but still retain such power over himself as to display their opposites whenever it may be expedient. I maintain that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot with impunity exercise all the virtues, because his own self-preservation will often compel him to violate the laws of charity, religion and humanity. He should habituate himself to bend easily to the various circumstances that may from time to time surround him. In a word, it will be as useful to him to persevere in the path of rectitude, while he feels no inconvenience in doing so, as to know how to deviate from it when circumstances dictate such a course. He should make it a rule, above all things, never to utter anything that does not breathe of kindness, justice, good faith and piety. This last quality it is most important for him to appear to possess, as men in general judge more from appearances than from reality. All men have eyes, but few have the gift of penetration. Everyone sees your exterior, but few can discern what you have in your heart; and those few dare not oppose the voice of the multitude, who have the majesty of their prince on their side. In forming a judgment of the minds of men, and more especially of princes, as we cannot recur to any tribunal, we must attend only to results. Let it then be the prince's chief care to maintain his authority; the means he employs, be they what they may, will, for this purpose, always appear honorable and meet applause; for the vulgar are ever caught by appearances, and judge only by the event. And as the world is chiefly composed of such as are called the vulgar, the voice of the few is seldom if ever heard or regarded. . . .

C. Case Study: Caesar Borgia

The long chapter which Machiavelli devoted to the career of Caesar Borgia serves as a test case for the adequacy of Machiavelli's realism. Born at Rome when his father Alexander was already a cardinal, Caesar had a series of military and political successes that hinged directly on Pope Alexander's support. Upon his father's death, however, he lost all his possessions.

—Was Caesar Borgia a fitting personification of Machiavelli's ideal prince?
—What was the cause of his failure, if it was not his unlucky illness at the time of Alexander's death?

1. CHAPTER VII: OF NEW DOMINIONS ACQUIRED BY ARMS OR FORTUNE (I)

Those private citizens who by good fortune become princes have little trouble in rising but much in maintaining their position; they have little difficulty on their way up because they go as it were with wings, but they have much when they reach the top. . . . [Caesar] Borgia . . . (called commonly Duke of

Valentino), got several fair territories by the fortune of his father, Pope Alexander, and lost them all after his death, though he used all his industry, and employed all the arts that a wise and brave prince ought to use to fix himself in the sphere where the arms and fortune of other people had placed him: for he who laid not his foundation in time, may yet raise his superstructure, but with great trouble to the architect and great danger to the building. If, therefore, the whole progress of that Duke be considered, it will be found what solid foundations he had laid for his future dominion, of which progress I think it not superfluous to discourse, because I know not what better precepts to display before a new prince than the example of his actions; and though his own orders and methods did him no good, it was not so much his fault as the malignity of his fortune.

Pope Alexander VI had a desire to make his son Duke Valentino great, but he saw many impediments in the way, both for the present and for the future. First, he could not see any way to advance him to any territory that depended not upon the Church; and to those in his gift he was sure the Duke of Milan and the Venetians would never consent; for Faenza and Riminum had already put themselves under Venetian protection. He was likewise sensible that the forces of Italy, especially those that were capable of assisting him, were in the hands of those that ought to apprehend the greatness of the Pope, as the Orsini, Colonnesi, and their followers, and therefore could not repose any great confidence in them; besides, the laws and alliances of all the states in Italy must of necessity be disturbed before he could make himself master of any part, which was no hard matter to do, finding the Venetians, upon some private interest of their own, inviting the French to another expedition into Italy, which his Holiness was so far from opposing that he promoted it by dissolution of King Louis's former marriage. Louis therefore passed the Alps by the assistance of the Venetians and Alexander's consent, and was no sooner in Milan than he sent forces to assist the Pope in his enterprise against Romagna, which was immediately surrendered upon the King's reputation. Romagna being in this manner reduced by the Duke, and the Colonnesi defeated, he was ambitious both to keep what he had got, and to advance in his conquests, but two things obstructed: one was the infidelity of his own army, the other the aversion of the French; for he was jealous of the forces of the Orsini who were in his service, and suspected they would fail him in his need, and either hinder his conquest or take it from him when he had done; and the same fears he had of the French. And his jealousy of the Orsini was much increased when, after the capture of Faenza, he found them very cold and backward in the attack on Bologna. And the King's inclination he discovered when, having possessed himself of the Duchy of Urbino, he invaded Tuscany, and was by him required to desist. Whereupon the Duke resolved to depend no longer upon fortune and foreign assistance, and the first course he took was to weaken the party of the Orsini and Colonni in Rome, which he effected very neatly by bribing such of their adherents as were gentlemen, taking them into his own service, and giving them honorable pensions and governments and commands, according to their respective qualities; so that in a

few months their passion for that faction evaporated, and they all adhered to the Duke. After this he watched for an opportunity of supplanting the Orsini, as he had supplanted the family of the Colonni, which happened very luckily, and was as luckily improved. For the Orsini, considering too late that the greatness of the Duke and the Church tended to their ruin, held a council at a place called Magione, in Perugia, which occasioned the rebellion of Urbino, the tumults in Romagna, and a thousand dangers to the Duke besides; but though he overcame them all by the assistance of the French, and recovered his reputation, yet he grew weary of his foreign allies, as having nothing further to oblige them, and betook himself to artifice, managing so dextrously that the Orsini reconciled themselves to him by the mediation of Seignor Paulo, with whom for his security he compounded so handsomely by presenting money, rich stuffs, and horses, that, being convinced of his integrity, he conducted them to Sinigaglia, and delivered them into the Duke's hands. Having by this means overcome his chief adversaries, and reduced their friends, the Duke had laid a fair foundation for his greatness, having gained Romagna and the Duchy of Urbino, and ingratiated himself with the people by giving them a taste of their future felicity.

When the Duke had possessed himself of Romagna, finding it had been governed by poor and inferior lords, who had rather robbed than corrected their subjects, and given them more occasion of discord than of unity, insomuch as that province was full of robberies, riots, and all manner of disturbances, to reduce them to unanimity and subjection to monarchy, he thought it necessary to provide them a good governor, and thereupon he conferred that office upon Remiro d'Orco, with absolute power, though he was a cruel and passionate man. Orco soon settled it in peace, with no small reputation to himself. Afterward the Duke, apprehending that so large a power might become odious to the people, erected a court of judicature in the center of the province, in which every city had its advocate, and an excellent person was appointed to preside. And as he discovered that his past severity had made him many enemies, to remove that ill opinion, and recover the affections of the people, he had a mind to show that, if any cruelty had been exercised, it proceeded not from him but from the arrogance of his minister; and for their further confirmation he caused the said governor to be apprehended, and his head chopped off one morning in the marketplace at Cesena, with a wooden dagger on one side of him and a bloody knife on the other; the ferocity of which spectacle not only appeased but amazed the people for a while.

Resuming our discourse, I say the Duke, finding himself powerful enough, and secure against present danger, being as strong as he desired, and his neighbors in a manner reduced to an incapacity of hurting him, was willing to go on with his conquests. Nothing remained but jealousy of France, which was without cause, for he knew that the King had found his error at last, and would be sure to obstruct him. Hereupon he began to look abroad for new allies, and to hesitate and stagger toward France, as appeared when the French army advanced into the kingdom of Naples against the Spaniards, who had besieged

Cajeta. His main design was to secure himself against the French, and he would doubtless have done it if Alexander had lived. These were his provisions against the dangers that were imminent; but those that were remote were more doubtful and uncertain. The first thing he feared was, lest the next Pope should be his enemy and reassume all that Alexander had given him, to prevent which he considered four ways. The first was by destroying the whole line of those lords whom he had dispossessed, that his Holiness might have no occasion to restore them. The second was to cajole the nobility in Rome, and draw them over to his party, that thereby he might put an awe and restraint upon the Pope. The third was, if possible, to make the College his friends. The fourth was to make himself so strong before the death of his father as to be able to stand upon his own legs and repel the first violence that should be practised against him. Three of these four expedients he had tried before Alexander died, and he was in a fair way for the fourth; all the disseized lords that came into his clutches he put to death, leaving few remaining; he had made friends of the nobility of Rome, and got a great party in the College of Cardinals; and had designed to make himself master of Tuscany, had obtained possession of Perugia and Piombino, and had taken Pisa under his protection. And having no further regard for the French (who were driven out of the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniard, and both of them reduced to the necessity of seeking his amity), he leaped boldly into Pisa, after which Lucca and Siena submitted without much trouble, partly in hatred to the Florentines, and partly for fear; and the Florentines were grown desperate and without hope of relief; so that, had these things happened before, as they did the same year in which Alexander died, doubtless he would have gained so much strength and reputation that he would have stood firm on the basis of his own power and conduct, without depending upon fortune or any foreign supplies. But his father died five years after his son had taken up arms, and left him nothing secure except Romagna. The rest were . . . [in the clouds], infested with two formidable armies, and he himself was mortally ill.

This Duke was a man of such magnanimity and prudence, and understood so well which way men were to be wheedled, or destroyed, and such were the foundations that he had laid in a short time, that had he not had those two great armies upon his back, and a fierce distemper upon his body, he would have overcome all difficulties and brought his designs to perfection. That the foundations he had laid were plausible, appeared by the patience of his subjects in Romagna, who held out for him a whole month, though they knew he was at death's door, and unlikely ever to come out of Rome, to which place though the Baglioni, the Vitelli, and the Orsini returned, seeing there was no likelihood of his recovery, yet they could not gain any of his party. It is possible he was not able to put whom he pleased into the Pontifical chair, yet he had power enough to keep out of it any man whom he considered his enemy. Had it been his fortune to be well when his father Alexander died, all things would have succeeded to his mind. He told me himself, about the time that Julius II was created, that he had considered well the accidents that might befall him upon the

death of his father, and provided against them all, only he did not imagine that at his father's death he should be so near it himself.

On serious examination, therefore, of the whole conduct of Duke Valentino, I see nothing to be reprehended; it seems rather proper to me to present him, as I have done, as an example for the imitation of all such as by the favor of fortune, or the supplies of other princes, have got into power; for, his mind being so large, and his intentions so high, he could not do otherwise, and nothing could have opposed the greatness and wisdom of his designs but his own infirmity and the death of his father. He, therefore, who thinks it necessary in the minority of his dominion to secure himself against his enemies, to gain himself friends; to overcome, whether by force or by fraud; to make himself beloved or feared by his people; to be followed and reverenced by his soldiers; to destroy and exterminate such as would do him injury; to repeal and suppress old laws, and introduce new; to be severe, grateful, magnanimous, liberal, cashier and disband such of his army as were unfaithful, and put new in their places; manage himself so in his alliances with kings and princes that all should be either obliged to requite him or afraid to offend him—he, I say, cannot find a fresher or better model than the actions of this prince. . . .

D. How Should *The Prince* Be Understood?

There have been simplified answers offered for this complex riddle. The easiest is that Machiavelli himself was so completely unscrupulous that The Prince *should be dismissed as a tissue of misrepresentations. Another, almost as drastic but of very different quality, is that Machiavelli wrote* The Prince *as a bitter satire to get back at the Medici and pour scorn on them. His praise of Caesar Borgia is then readily understandable. Still another answer is that he was bitter over the presence of foreign armies in Italy and so impatient for the creation of a strong Italian government that any means towards this end seemed worth endorsing. Another is that* The Prince *should be understood as a hasty distillation of his intense experiences of power politics as an active diplomat and that his more leisurely later book,* The Discourses on Livy, *properly represents his real thinking. And yet,* The Prince, *not* The Discourses, *is the book that has been read and has influenced men. Before passing any judgment on the direction of Machiavelli's thinking in* The Prince, *it is essential to ponder Chapter XXVI, its climax. Then two excerpts from* The Discourses (*completed about 1518*) *provide some of Machiavelli's later reflections.*

—To what extent do the contents of *The Prince's* concluding chapter fit in with Machiavelli's stated purpose of showing rulers how to succeed by examining the realities of human behavior?

—Do the selections from *The Discourses* illustrate essentially the same qualities of mind and judgment seen in the selections from *The Prince?*

1. CHAPTER XXVI: EXHORTATION TO LIBERATE ITALY FROM FOREIGN POWERS (1)

When I take a review of the subject-matter treated of in this book, and examine whether the circumstances in which we are now placed would be favorable to the establishment of a new government, alike honorable to its founder and advantageous to Italy, it appears to me that there never was, nor ever will be a period more appropriate for the execution of so glorious an undertaking.

If it was necessary that the people of Israel should be slaves to Egypt, in order to elicit the rare talents of Moses; that the Persians should groan under the oppression of the Medes, in order to prove the courage and magnanimity of Cyrus; and that the Athenians should be scattered and dispersed, in order to make manifest the rare virtues of Theseus, it will be likewise necessary, for the glory of some Italian hero, that his country should be reduced to its present miserable condition, that the Italians should be greater slaves than the Israelites, more oppressed than the Persians, and still more dispersed than the Athenians; in a word, that they should be without laws and without chiefs, pillaged, torn to pieces, and enslaved by foreign powers.

And though it has sometimes unquestionably happened that men have arisen who appeared to be sent by Heaven to achieve our deliverance; yet jealous fortune has ever abandoned them in the midst of their career; so that our unfortunate country still groans and pines away in the expectation of a deliverer that may put an end to the devastations in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples. She supplicates Heaven to raise up a prince that may free her from the odious and humiliating yoke of foreigners, may close the numberless wounds with which she has been so long afflicted, and under whose standard she may march against her cruel oppressors.

But on whom can Italy cast her eyes except upon your illustrious house, which, visibly favored by Heaven and the Church, the government of which is confided to its care, possesses also the wisdom and the power necessary to undertake so glorious an enterprise? And I cannot think that the execution of this project will seem difficult if you reflect on the actions and conduct of the heroes whose examples I have adduced. Though their exploits were indeed wonderful, they were still but men; and although their merit raised them above the others, yet none of them certainly were placed in a situation so favorable as that in which you now stand. You have justice on your side; their cause was not more lawful than yours, and the blessing of God will attend you no less than them. Every war that is necessary is just; and it is humanity to take up arms for the defense of a people to whom no other resource is left.

All circumstances concur to facilitate the execution of so noble a project, for the accomplishment of which it will be necessary only to tread in the steps of those great men whom I have mentioned in the course of this work. For though some of them, it is true, were conducted by the hand of God in a won-

derful manner—though the sea divided to let them pass, a cloud directed their course, a rock streamed with water to assuage their thirst, and manna fell from heaven to appease their hunger—yet there is no occasion for such miracles at present, as you possess in yourself sufficient power to execute a plan you ought by no means to neglect. God will not do everything for us; much is left to ourselves, and the free exercise of will, that so our own actions may not be wholly destitute of merit.

If none of our princes have hitherto been able to effect what is now expected from your illustrious house, and if Italy has continually been unfortunate in her wars, the evil has arisen from the defects in military discipline, which no person has been able to reform. . . .

It is therefore absolutely necessary to have troops raised in our own country, if we wish to protect it from the invasion of foreign powers. The Swiss as well as the Spanish infantry are highly esteemed, but both have defects that may be avoided in the formation of our troops, which would render them superior to both of those powers. The Spaniards cannot withstand the shock of cavalry, and the Swiss cannot maintain their ground against infantry that is equally resolute. . . .

It is necessary, therefore, to institute a military force possessing the defects of neither the Swiss nor the Spanish infantry, and that may be able to maintain its ground against the French cavalry, and this is to be effected, not by changing their arms, but by altering their discipline. Nothing is more likely to make a new prince esteemed and to render his reign illustrious.

Such an opportunity should be embraced eagerly that Italy, after her long sufferings, may at last behold her deliverer appear. With what demonstrations of joy and gratitude, with what affection, with what impatience for revenge, would he not be received by those unfortunate provinces that have so long groaned under such odious oppression? What city would shut her gates against him, and what people would be so blind as to refuse him obedience? What rivals would he have to dread? Is there one Italian that would not hasten to pay him homage? All are weary of the tyranny of these barbarians. May your illustrious house, strong in all the hopes that justice gives our cause, deign to undertake this noble enterprise, that so, under your banners, our nation may resume its ancient splendor, and behold the prophecy of Petrarch at last fulfilled.

When virtue takes the field,
  Short will the conflict be,
Barbarian rage shall yield
  The palm to Italy:
For patriot blood still warms Italian veins;
Though low the fire, a spark at least remains.

2. THE DISCOURSES ON LIVY (2)

Book II, Chapter II. *With what Nations the Romans had to contend, and how stubborn these were in defending their Freedom.*

In subduing the countries round about them, and certain of the more distant provinces, nothing gave the Romans so much trouble, as the love which in those days many nations bore to freedom, defending it with such obstinacy as could not have been overcome save by a surpassing valour. . . . It is easy to understand whence this love of liberty arises among nations, for we know by experience that States have never signally increased, either as to dominion or wealth, except where they have lived under a free government. And truly it is strange to think to what a pitch of greatness Athens came during the hundred years after she had freed herself from the despotism of Pisistratus; and far stranger to contemplate the marvellous growth which Rome made after freeing herself from her kings. The cause, however, is not far to seek, since it is the well-being, not of individuals, but of the community which makes a State great; and, without question, this universal well-being is nowhere secured save in a republic. For a republic will do whatsoever makes for its interest; and though its measures prove hurtful to this man or to that, there are so many whom they benefit, that these are able to carry them out, in spite of the resistance of the few whom they injure. But the contrary happens in the case of a prince; for, as a rule, what helps him hurts the State, and what helps the State hurts him; so that whenever a tyranny springs up in a city which has lived free, the least evil which can befall that city is to make no further progress, nor ever increase in power or wealth; but in most cases, if not in all, it will be its fate to go back. . . .

• • • • •

Book III, Chapter XIX. *Whether Indulgence or Severity be more necessary for controlling a Multitude.*

The Roman Republic was distracted by the feuds of the nobles and commons. Nevertheless, on war breaking out, Quintius and Appius Claudius were sent forth in command of Roman armies. From his harshness and severity to his soldiers, Appius was so ill obeyed by them, that after sustaining what almost amounted to a defeat, he had to resign his command. Quintius, on the contrary, by kindly and humane treatment, kept his men obedient and returned victorious to Rome. From this it might seem that to govern a large body of men, it is better to be humane than haughty, and kindly rather than severe. And yet Cornelius Tacitus, with whom many other authors are agreed, pronounces a contrary opinion where he says, "In governing a multitude it avails more to punish than to be compliant." If it be asked how these opposite views can be reconciled, I answer that you exercise authority either over men used to regard you as their equal, or over men who have always been subject to you. When those over whom you exercise authority are your equals, you cannot trust wholly

to punishment or to that severity of which Tacitus speaks. And since in Rome itself the commons had equal weight with the nobles, none appointed their captain for a time only, could control them by using harshness and severity. Accordingly we find that those Roman captains who gained the love of their soldiers and were considerate of them, often achieved greater results than those who made themselves feared by them in an unusual degree. . . . But he who has to govern subjects such as those of whom Tacitus speaks, to prevent their growing insolent and trampling upon him by reason of his too great easiness, must resort to punishment rather than to compliance. Still, to escape hatred, punishment should be moderate in degree, for to make himself hated is never for the interest of any prince. And to escape hatred, a prince has chiefly to guard against tampering with the property of any of his subjects; for where nothing is to be gained by it, no prince will desire to shed blood, unless, as seldom happens, constrained to do so by necessity. But where advantage is to be gained thereby, blood will always flow, and neither the desire to shed it, nor causes for shedding it will ever be wanting, as I have fully shown when discussing this subject in another treatise. Quintius therefore was more deserving of praise than Appius. . . .

Questions for Thought

Does Machiavelli's advice seem valid for all times and places or is it applicable only to his own time and situation? Why might it be a good thing that there have been such sharply different opinions about *The Prince* ever since it was written?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* in *The Literature of Italy 1265-1907,* ed. by R. Johnson and D. Ranous (The National Alumni, 1907).

(2) Niccolo Machiavelli, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius,* trans. Ninian Thomson (London, 1883), pp. 197-98, 409-10. Reprinted by permission of Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

CHAPTER SIX

Conflict and Continuity in Religion

Friction concerned with interpretation of doctrine and the proper role of institutions within the Christian Church was common prior to the sixteenth century. Religious differences deep enough to lead to a breach in the universality of the Church had been rare, however. After the separation of the Orthodox and Roman wings of Christianity in the Middle Ages, the Western Church preserved a sense of unity among its members by maintaining a flexible policy in regard to doctrine while suppressing serious challenges to the authority exercised by the Church hierarchy. Human shortcomings within the hierarchy itself were corrected periodically by waves of reform. The uniqueness of the Protestant Reformation derives primarily from the fact that in attempting to attack such shortcomings it split the universal Church. Scholars have since emphasized the divergences between Protestants and Catholics; yet a careful consideration of the positions of each reveals a core of common institutional and doctrinal belief that helps to explain in part the efforts of the Christian community in our own day to overcome the division.

Historical change is never a simple process. The elimination or reform of any major institution affects many other aspects of human culture. The religious conflict, therefore, cannot be separated from other alterations in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe; it was interwoven with political, social, and economic changes. Part I of this chapter considers Martin Luther's role in fusing together various strains of dissatisfaction into what became a movement of religious independence. The Protestant revolt strengthened an existing movement for reform within the Catholic Church. Part II is concerned with the Catholic reformation. One outcome of the religious controversy was the linkage of spiritual dissension to secular concerns. Part III examines the interrelationship of religion and politics in the Thirty Years' War.

PART I

Luther: Rebel or Conservative?

Martin Luther (1483-1546), the German leader of the Protestant Reformation, was obsessed, like so many of his contemporaries in the late Middle Ages, by an overpowering sense of personal sin. He determined to save his soul by becoming a monk. Years of diligent conformity to the monastic code did not succeed, however, in stifling his consciousness of deep moral inadequacy or silencing slowly developing doubts about certain doctrines of the Church. He was particularly disturbed by the part of Church dogma that held that man could assure his own salvation by an accumulation of good works in this life. It was through his discovery and interpretation some time in 1512 or 1513 of Paul's statement in Romans 1:17, "The just shall live by faith," that an answer to his personal problem was found. To Luther this passage indicated that salvation could not be obtained by mortal effort; man would be saved only if God willed it. Good works, Luther concluded, did not make a good man, although a good man would naturally perform good works.

Acceptance of justification (salvation) by faith eventually led to Luther's open criticism of the doctrine of indulgences and brought him into bitter conflict with his Church. The Church did not claim that it could affect the status of a sinner in the eyes of God, but it did claim the power to ameliorate the punishment in Purgatory for sin on Earth. Remission of such punishment for truly repentant people could be obtained by the granting of an indulgence. The use of the indulgence was based on the theory that the saints, having lived better lives than were necessary to enter Heaven, had left behind them excess merit in a spiritual treasury. The Pope could transfer this merit to others less well-endowed. An indulgence had originally been earned in return for a specific good deed. Later, money was accepted with the understanding that it would be used by the Church for worthwhile causes; in practice the indulgence frequently became a method of collecting money for the Church. Moreover, there was a widespread popular misunderstanding—catered to by the less educated or less scrupulous ecclesiastics—that indulgences were pardons for sins. In 1517 Pope Leo X was in the midst of a fund-raising drive for the completion of the basilica of St. Peter's at Rome. He granted to Albert of Hohenzollern, a young German prince who urgently needed money to pay for a papal dispensation which would allow him to hold several bishoprics simultaneously, permission to sell indulgences and share the return with the Church. Albert's domains lay across the Elbe River from Wittenberg in Saxony, where Luther was a professor at the university. The high-pressure salesmanship used in the campaign goaded him into open defiance.

On the eve of All Saints' in the year 1517 Luther posted his famous Ninety-five Theses (in Latin) on the church door at Wittenberg for his academic colleagues to peruse and debate. Soon translated into German, the theses found enthusiastic support. Not only did they reinforce the centuries-old resentment against ecclesiastical abuses and Roman interference in German affairs, but they also appealed to those who were dissatisfied with existing conditions. The feudal nobility was uneasy in a Europe increasingly dominated by money and mercenary armies. The princes feared the consequences of strong imperial leadership. The example of France, where a succession of vigorous monarchs had extended royal control over both nobles and church, served as a warning against the centralizing attempts of the Emperors Maximilian (1491-1519) and Charles (1519-1556). The solid burgher class saw its prosperity threatened as the stream of Eastern trade shifted westward from the Mediterranean after the voyages of da Gama and Columbus. The long-suffering peasantry accepted the existing conditions chiefly because there seemed to be no way to better its position. And the humanist scholars, above all, were highly receptive to an appeal for reform.

Attacked by the Church authorities for heretical views, Luther gradually abandoned his goal of reform within the Church. As the implications of his religious philosophy led him to disavow the authority of Pope and Church Councils, he turned to the Bible and his own conscience for confirmation of his ideas. Threatened in 1520 with excommunication, he responded with a series of pamphlets in which he rejected the sacraments and the priesthood as keys to salvation, declared his belief in justification by faith, and appealed for support to German national consciousness. He was formally declared an outlaw of the Empire at Worms in 1521 but was spirited away by order of Duke Frederick of Saxony. Safeguarded from his enemies in the massive Wartburg castle, Luther spent his days translating the New Testament into German and eventually returned to Wittenberg to direct the reform movement. Here in the mid-1520's he became involved in social consequences inherent in his revolt against the Church. Southern Germany was swept by a bloody peasant uprising, in which both sides invoked Luther's support. His eventual denunciation of the peasants lost Luther a great deal of his popular backing, and he was increasingly compelled to turn to the local princely governments in order to establish his beliefs securely. Increasingly rigid in his interpretation of doctrinal truth, his intransigent attitude made a compromise solution with the Roman Church impossible and encouraged as well the splitting of the reform movement into various Protestant sects.

For more than four centuries Luther has been the subject of historical contention. His motives, the means he adopted to achieve his ends, and the forces he shaped have all been debated vociferously. Luther has been variously portrayed as an idealist trying to modernize Christian practices, as an opportunist with an eye on self-aggrandisement, and as a medieval man at odds with his age. The following readings attempt to shed light on the ambiguity surrounding Martin Luther. What was his purpose? To what extent did he antici-

pate the momentous consequences of his actions? Does the man make history or does history make the man?

A. Three Secondary Interpretations

The short selections below illustrate varied ways in which Luther's life and work have been interpreted. David Hume was an influential eighteenth-century historian and philosopher. His work was based on the assumption that a normal historical man existed whose actions, regardless of setting, could be expected to follow a fixed pattern. Heinrich von Treitschke was an ardent nineteenth-century German nationalist who had witnessed the successful unification of Germany by Bismarck. A.J.P. Taylor, Professor of History at Oxford University, wrote the history of Germany from which the third selection is taken during the difficult days of the Second World War.

—To what does Hume attribute the Reformation? On what basis does he make his judgment?
—What accounts for the difference in emphasis of Treitschke and Taylor?
—Does the bias out of which each of the authors arrives at his conclusion invalidate his historical effort?

1. DAVID HUME (1)

All these circumstances [conditions of the Church around 1515] might have given offense, but would have been attended with no event of any importance had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor at the University of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves, and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him. Still, as he enlarged his reading in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference, and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from the lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions . . . and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he himself was the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others—the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

2. HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE (2)

Even during his life-time Martin Luther incurred the penalty which awaits all great men, and especially all great fighters: he was misunderstood. During the early years of his public activity—years so full of promise—he was greeted by the nation with a tempestuous joy such as has not been seen again in Germany until our own time. In the days when he first belled the cat, when, forced forward by a lively conscience and the driving power of untrammelled thought, he turned from the paths of ancient orthodoxy to those of open heresy; when he threw the Papal Bull into the fire and gave that ringing call to the "Christian nobility of the German nation," in which he invited his Germans to reform the Church and the State, root and branch; then it was that he stood revealed before the Emperor and the Empire as the leader of the nation, a man as heroic in aspect as the patron saint of his people, the warrior Michael. . . .

It is only the historical science of our own day which has succeeded in plucking up heart to comprehend Luther in his entirety, Luther the epitome of his century, in whose soul nearly all the new ideas of the time were mightily re-echoed. We are far enough removed from him in time to be able to gauge the indirect consequences of his destructive and constructive labours, to observe all the seeds of a new culture which he sowed in German soil with all the unconsciousness of genius, and to realize with thankfulness how faithfully he kept the promise thus made by him: "I was born for my Germans, and them will I serve."

3. A. J. P. TAYLOR (3)

No man has ever been so representative of the German spirit, and no man has had such a deep and lasting effect on German history. Germany is the Germany of Luther to this day. He was a man of great intellectual and of supreme literary ability, with a readiness to maintain his convictions to the death. But he turned with repugnance from all the values of Western civilization. He owed his breach with Catholicism to a visit to Rome, when he had seen, and rejected, the greatest glories of the Renaissance. He hated art, culture, intellect, and sought an escape into an imagined Germany of the past, romantic, irrational, non-European. In Luther was implicit the emotionalism of the Romantic movement, the German nationalist sense of being different, above all the elevation of feeling over thinking, which is characteristic of modern Germany. In Luther, German sentiment first asserted itself, and it asserted itself against reason, against civilization, against the West. In the rest of Europe religious reform implied going forward; with Luther it meant going back, repudiating everything which was carrying civilized life beyond barbarism. As once the German conquerors of Rome had prided themselves on being simpler, purer, than the heirs of Cicero and Virgil, so now Luther set himself up against Michael Angelo and Raphael. Even the technical occasion of his breach with Rome was

symbolic; he objected to the sale of indulgences in order to raise money for the building of St. Peter's—if it had been for the purpose of massacring German peasants, Luther might never have become a Protestant.

B. The Early Development of Martin Luther

Luther entered the Augustinian Order in 1505. During his long quest for peace of mind, he turned increasingly to the study of the Scriptures and the great Christian writings of the past. He seems to have been particularly attracted by the writings of mystics, such as Thomas à Kempis, a German monk who wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century. Another influence on the young Luther was Erasmus, "prince of humanists" (1466?-1536), whose Praise of Folly *was a biting attack on contemporary mores and an eloquent appeal for spiritual renewal. The last two selections are from Luther's later reminiscences of his monastery years.*

—Against what were the exhortations of Kempis and the criticisms of Erasmus aimed?

—Why was the doctrine of justification by faith so satisfactory to Luther?

1. THOMAS À KEMPIS: THE IMITATION OF CHRIST—BOOK II (4)

"The Kingdom of God is within you," says the Lord.

Turn yourself with your whole heart to the Lord, and forsake this wretched world; and your soul will find rest.

Learn to despise outward things and to give yourself to things within; and you will see the Kingdom of God coming within you.

For the Kingdom of God is peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, which is not given to the wicked.

Christ will come to you and will show you this consolation, if you prepare for him a worthy mansion within you.

All his glory and beauty is from within, and there is his delight.

He frequently visits the inner man; sweet discourse, pleasant solace, much peace, familiarity exceedingly wonderful. . . .

Put all your trust in God, and let him alone be your fear and your love.

He will answer for you, and will do what is best for you. . . .

2. ERASMUS: IN PRAISE OF FOLLY (5)

But why should I launch into so wide a sea of superstition? . . . Almost all Christians are wretchedly enslaved to ignorance, which the priests are so far from preventing or removing that they blacken the darkness and promote the delusion; wisely foreseeing that the people (like cows, which never give down

their milk so well as when they are gently stroked) would part with less if they knew more. Now if a wise man should stand up and unseasonably speak the truth, telling everyone that a pious life is the only way of securing a happy death; that the best way to a pardon of our sins is a hearty abhorrence of our guilt and sincere resolutions of amendment; that the best devotion which can be paid the saints is to imitate their lives: if he were to proceed thus, many people would be vexed to lose the satisfaction they had had in tears, vigils, masses, fasting and like severities. . . .

Now as to the Popes of Rome who pretend themselves Christ's vicars, if they would but imitate his exemplary life, his poverty, labors, teaching and contempt of this world; if they did but consider the meaning of the word Pope, which signifies a father, or if they did but practice their surname of Most Holy, who on earth would be in worse condition? There would be no vigorous buying of votes in the conclave upon the vacancy of that see: who would retain the office by force and violence? How much of their pleasure would be abated if they were endowed with one dram of wisdom? Wisdom did I say? Nay, with one grain of that salt which our Saviour bid them not lose the savour of. It would deprive them of all their riches, honour, holdings, offices, dispensations, licences, indulgences, their long train of attendance (see in how short a compass I have abbreviated all their marketing of religion); in a word all their perquisites would be lost. In their place would succeed vigils, fasts, tears, prayers, sermons, studies, repenting sighs, and a thousand such like penalties: nay, what's yet more deplorable, all their clerks, notaries, advocates, secretaries, grooms, serving-men, pimps (and somewhat else, which for modesty's sake I shall not mention); in short all these troops of attendance, which depend on His Holiness, would all lose their employments. This indeed would be hard, but what yet remains would be more dreadful: the very Head of the Church would be reduced from all his splendor to a purse and a staff. . . .

3. LUTHER: DISTRESS IN THE CLOISTER (6)

[Passages in Luther's writings from 1534, 1538-40, 1539]—Luther said: I was always thinking, when will you do enough that God may be gracious? Such thoughts drove me to the monastery. . . . I went into the cloister that I might not be lost but might have eternal life. I wanted to help myself through the cowl. . . . In the cloister we had enough to eat and drink but we had suffering and torment in heart and conscience. . . . I was often terrified at the name of Jesus. The sight of a crucifix was like lightning to me and when his name was spoken I would rather have heard that of the devil, because I thought I must do good works until Christ because of them became friendly and gracious to me. I was not troubled about women, gold, and goods but I had lost faith and could not suppose that God was other than angry, and that I must placate him with my good deeds.

4. LUTHER: JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH (7)

The full disclosure [passages composed in 1545 and 1532]: I greatly longed to understand Paul's Epistle to the Romans and nothing stood in the way but that one expression, "the justice of God," because I took it to mean that justice whereby God is just and deals justly in punishing the unjust. My situation was that, although an impeccable monk, I stood before God as a sinner troubled in conscience, and I had no confidence that my merit would assuage him. Therefore I did not love a just and angry God, but rather hated and murmured against Him. Yet I clung to the dear Paul and had a great yearning to know what he meant.

Night and day I pondered until I saw the connection between the justice of God and the statement that "the just shall live by his faith." Then I grasped that the justice of God is that righteousness by which through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith. Thereupon I felt myself to be reborn and to have gone through open doors into paradise. The whole of Scripture took on a new meaning, and whereas before the "justice of God" had filled me with hate, now it became to me a gate to heaven. . . .

If you have a true faith that Christ is your Saviour, then at once you have a gracious God, for faith leads you in and opens up God's heart and will, that you should see pure grace and overflowing love. This it is to behold God in faith that you should look upon His fatherly, friendly heart, in which there is no anger nor ungraciousness. He who sees God as angry does not see Him rightly but looks only on a curtain, as if a dark cloud had been drawn across his face.

C. The Religious Revolt

Having risen to prominence through the wide distribution of his Ninety-five Theses, Luther was pressed by the Church to recant his errors and submit to papal authority or risk excommunication. Far from recanting, during the summer of 1520 he gave further substance to his attack by publishing three famous pamphlets, which, taken together, constitute the core of Lutheranism. The first, an Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, *appealed to the temporal princes against the Church. The second,* On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, *was an attack on the efficacy of the sacraments. The third,* Concerning Christian Liberty, *set forth the doctrine of justification by faith. Excerpts from the last of these treatises follow below after selected theses from the Ninety-five Theses.*

—What are the implications of Luther's attack on indulgences in the Ninety-five Theses?

—In what way were such implications spelled out in *Concerning Christian Liberty?*

—What did Luther mean by Christian Liberty?

1. THE NINETY-FIVE THESES (8)

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying: "Repent ye," etc. intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence. . . .

6. The Pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or, at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain. . . .

26. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that, by the indulgences of the Pope, a man is loosed and saved from all punishment.

27. They preach mad, who say that the soul flies out of purgatory as soon as the money thrown into the chest rattles.

28. It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the suffrage of the Church depends on the will of God alone. . . .

35. They preach no Christian doctrine, who teach that contrition is not necessary for those who buy souls out of purgatory or buy confessional licenses.

36. Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of pain and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and of the Church, given him by God, even without letters of pardon. . . .

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God. . . .

65. Hence the treasures of the Gospel are nets, wherewith of old they fished for the men of riches.

66. The treasures of indulgences are nets, wherewith they now fish for the riches of men. . . .

86. Again; why does not the Pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of the wealthiest of the wealthy, build the one Basilica of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with that of poor believers? . . .

94. Christians should be exhorted to strive to follow Christ their head through pains, deaths, and hells.

95. And thus trust to enter heaven through many tribulations, rather than in the security of peace.

2. CONCERNING CHRISTIAN LIBERTY (9)

. . . That I may open then an easier way for the ignorant—for these alone I am trying to serve—I first lay down two propositions, concerning spiritual liberty and servitude:—A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone.

Although these statements appear contradictory, yet, when they are found

to agree together, they will do excellently for my purpose. They are both the statements of Paul himself, who says, "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself a servant unto all" (I Cor. ix. 19), and "Owe no man anything but to love one another" (Rom. xiii. 8). Now love is by its own nature dutiful and obedient to the beloved object. Thus even Christ, though Lord of all things, was yet made of a woman; made under the law; at once free and a servant; at once in the form of God and in the form of a servant.

Let us examine the subject on a deeper and less simple principle. Man is composed of a twofold nature, a spiritual and a bodily. As regards the spiritual nature, which they name the soul, he is called the spiritual, inward, new man; as regards the bodily nature, which they name the flesh, he is called the fleshly, outward, old man. The Apostle speaks of this: "Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day" (II Cor. iv. 16). The result of this diversity is that in the Scriptures opposing statements are made concerning the same man, the fact being that in the same man these two men are opposed to one another; the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh (Gal. v. 17).

We first approach the subject of the inward man, that we may see by what means a man becomes justified, free, and a true Christian; that is, a spiritual, new, and inward man. It is certain that absolutely none among outward things, under whatever name they may be reckoned, has any influence in producing Christian righteousness or liberty, nor, on the other hand, unrighteousness or slavery. This can be shown by an easy argument.

What can it profit to the soul that the body should be in good condition, free, and full of life; that it should eat, drink, and act according to its pleasure; when even the most impious slaves of every kind of vice are prosperous in these matters? Again, what harm can ill-health, bondage, hunger, thirst, or any other outward evil, do to the soul, when even the most pious of men, and the freest in the purity of their conscience, are harassed by these things? Neither of these states of things has to do with the liberty or the slavery of the soul.

And so it will profit nothing that the body should be adorned with sacred vestments, or dwell in holy places, or be occupied in sacred offices, or pray, fast, and abstain from certain meats, or do whatever works can be done through the body and in the body. Something widely different will be necessary for the justification and liberty of the soul, since the things I have spoken of can be done by an impious person, and only hypocrites are produced by devotion to these things. On the other hand, it will not at all injure the soul that the body should be clothed in profane raiment, should dwell in profane places, should eat and drink in the ordinary fashion, should not pray aloud, and should leave undone all the things above mentioned, which may be done by hypocrites. . . .

Let us therefore hold it for certain and firmly established that the soul can do without everything except the word of God, without which none at all of its wants are provided for. But, having the word, it is rich and wants for nothing, since that is the word of life, of truth, of light, of peace, of justification, of salvation, of joy, of liberty, of wisdom, of virtue, of grace, of glory, and of every

good thing. It is on this account that the prophet in a whole Psalm (Psalm cxix), and in many other places, sighs for and calls upon the word of God with so many groanings and words. . . .

Hence all we who believe on Christ are kings and priests in Christ, as it is said, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light" (I Peter ii. 9).

These two things stand thus. First, as regards kingship, every Christian is by faith so exalted above all things that, in spiritual power, he is completely lord of all things, so that nothing whatever can do him any hurt: yea, all things are subject to him, and are compelled to be subservient to his salvation. Thus Paul says, "All things work together for good to them who are the called" (Rom. viii. 28), and also, "Whether life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours; and ye are Christ's" (I Cor. iii. 22, 23).

Not that in the sense of corporeal power any one among the Christians has been appointed to possess and rule all things, according to the mad and senseless idea of certain ecclesiastics. That is the office of kings, princes, and men upon earth. In the experience of life we see that we are subjected to all things, and suffer many things, even death. Yea, the more of a Christian any man is, to so many the more evils, sufferings, and deaths is he subject, as we see in the first place in Christ the First-born, and in all His holy brethren.

This is a spiritual power, which rules in the midst of enemies, and is powerful in the midst of distresses. And this is nothing else than that strength is made perfect in my weakness, and that I can turn all things to the profit of my salvation; so that even the cross and death are compelled to serve me and to work together for my salvation. This is a lofty and eminent dignity, a true and almighty dominion, a spiritual empire, in which there is nothing so good, nothing so bad, as not to work together for my good, if only I believe. And yet there is nothing of which I have need—for faith alone suffices for my salvation—unless that in it faith may exercise the power and empire of its liberty. This is the inestimable power and liberty of Christians. . . .

D. Luther at the Diet of Worms

One of the most dramatic scenes in history was enacted on April 18, 1521, when Martin Luther stood before emperor and princes at the Imperial Diet in the city of Worms and uttered the words reprinted below. Already excommunicated by the Pope, Luther had been summoned for interrogation by Emperor Charles V. The young Habsburg monarch, ruler of large sections of Europe, was faced with the enmity of France and the forces of the victorious Turks advancing through Hungary. It was important that he preserve unity within his German lands. As a faithful son of the Church, Charles hoped that Luther might be induced to admit the error of his ways or, if he persisted, be judged guilty by the

highest German authorities. In either case, Luther's corroding influence would be ended. On April 17 Martin Luther appeared before the assemblage of notables. When asked to recant his views, he hesitated and requested time to come to a decision. His answer was given the following day. It appears here as our first document.

The second document includes the essential argument contained in the decision against him by the Diet.

—What image of Martin Luther emerges from his statement at Worms?
—What conclusion, in light of your knowledge of the further development of the Lutheran movement, can you draw about the arguments advanced in the Edict of Worms?

1. LUTHER'S REPLY (10)

Most Serene Emperor, and Most Illustrious Princes: As to the two articles yesterday presented to me by Your Most Serene Majesty—namely, whether I would acknowledge the books edited and published in my name as mine, and whether I wished to persevere in their defense or to revoke them—I have given my ready and clear response to the first: in that I still persist and shall persist forever; to wit, that these books are mine. . . .

Nevertheless, because I am a man and not God, I cannot shield my practices with any other defense than that with which my Lord Jesus Christ himself vindicated his teaching. For when he had been asked about his doctrine before Annas, and had been smitten by the blow of a servant, he said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil." If our Lord, who was always conscious of his inability to err, yet did not decline to hear any evidence against his doctrine even from the most contemptible menial—how much more ought I, who am of the dregs of the people, and powerless in everything save sin, to desire and expect the introduction of testimony against my teaching?

Therefore, Your Most Serene Majesty, Your Most Illustrious Lordships, I beseech you by the mercy of God, that whoever can, whether high or low, let him bring forward the proof, let him convince me of errors: let the Scriptures of Prophecy and Gospels triumph, for I will be wholly ready to revoke any error, if I can be persuasively taught; yes, I will be the first to cast my books into the fire. . . .

> [To these words the . . . imperial orator replied with harshness that he ought not to have made such a response, nor were the subjects formally condemned and defined by the councils to be called in question; therefore he sought from him a simple answer, and one without horns: would he revoke or not? Then Luther said:—]

Therefore, Your Most Serene Majesty and Your Lordships, since they seek a simple reply, I will give one that is without horns or teeth, and in this fashion: I believe in neither pope nor councils alone; for it is perfectly well established

that they have frequently erred, as well as contradicted themselves. Unless then I shall be convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures or by clear reason, I must be bound by those Scriptures which have been brought forward by me; yes, my conscience has been taken captive by these words of God. I cannot revoke anything, nor do I wish to; since to go against one's conscience is neither safe nor right: here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.

2. EDICT OF THE DIET OF WORMS (11)

• • • • •

Therefore we [the Emperor] hold that if it was the duty of any of our ancestors to defend the Christian name, much greater is the obligation on us, inasmuch as the unparalleled goodness of Almighty God has, for the protection and increase of his holy faith, endowed us with more kingdoms and lands and greater power in the Empire than any of our ancestors for many years. . . .

Since now without doubt it is plain to you all how far these errors and heresies depart from the Christian way, which a certain Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order, has sought violently and virulently to introduce and disseminate within the Christian religion and its established order, especially in the German nation, which is renowned as a perpetual destroyer of all unbelief and heresy; so that, unless it is speedily prevented, the whole German nation, and later all other nations, will be infected by this same disorder, and mighty dissolution and pitiable downfall of good morals, and of the peace and the Christian faith, will result. . . .

But all the other innumerable wickednesses of Luther must, for brevity's sake, remain unreckoned. This fellow appears to be not so much a man as the wicked demon in the form of a man and under a monk's cowl. He has collected many heresies of the worst heretics, long since condemned and forgotten, together with some newly invented ones, in one stinking pool, under pretext of preaching *faith*, which he extols with so great industry in order that he may ruin the true and genuine faith, and under the name and appearance of evangelical doctrine overturn and destroy all evangelical peace and love, as well as all righteous order and the most excellent hierarchy of the Church. . . .

Accordingly, in view of all these considerations and the fact that Martin Luther still persists obstinately and perversely in maintaining his heretical opinions, and consequently all pious and God-fearing persons abominate and abhor him as one mad or possessed by a demon, . . . we have declared and made known that the said Martin Luther shall hereafter be held and esteemed by each and all of us as a limb cut off from the Church of God, an obstinate schismatic and manifest heretic. . . .

And we publicly attest by these letters that we order and command each and all of you, as you owe fidelity to us and the Holy Empire, . . . we strictly order that immediately after the expiration of the appointed twenty days, terminating on the fourteenth day of May, you shall refuse to give the aforesaid Martin Luther hospitality, lodging, food, or drink; neither shall any one, by

word or deed, secretly or openly, succor or assist him by counsel or help; but in whatever place you meet him, you shall proceed against him; if you have sufficient force, you shall take him prisoner and keep him in close custody; you shall deliver him, or cause him to be delivered, to us or at least let us know where he may be captured. . . .

E. Luther and Erasmus

It has been said that Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched. His sophisticated campaign against the foibles of man and the outmoded dictates of medieval practice and his rapier-like attacks on the excesses of the Renaissance Church gained him a tremendous reputation among men of letters. Luther naturally wooed his favor in the early days after the posting of the Theses, and Erasmus flirted mildly with the stormy reformer in return. He chose to remain a critic within the Church, however, and eventually broke with Luther on doctrinal matters. Even more basic was the deep difference in the character of the two men.

Three letters of Erasmus follow below. The first is addressed to Luther in 1519. The second was sent to an English friend several months after the events in Worms in 1521. The last was written after the publication of his bitter attack on Luther in 1526.

—What kind of man was Erasmus, judging from his correspondence? How was he different from Luther?
—Why didn't he "hatch" his own egg?
—What did Erasmus mean in the last letter by "it is the public disaster which distresses me"?

1. TO MARTIN LUTHER—FLANDERS, 30 MAY, 1519 (12)

Best greetings, most beloved brother in Christ. Your letter was most welcome to me, displaying a shrewd wit and breathing a Christian spirit.

I could never find words to express what commotions your books have brought about here. They cannot even now eradicate from their minds the most false suspicion that your works were composed with my aid, and that I am the standard-bearer of this party, as they call it. They thought that they had found a handle wherewith to crush good learning—which they mortally detest as threatening to dim the majesty of theology, a thing they value far above Christ—and at the same time to crush me, whom they consider as having some influence on the revival of studies. . . .

There are persons in England, and they in the highest positions, who think very well of your writings. Here, too, there are people, among them the Bishop of Liège, who favour your followers. As for me, I keep myself as far as possible neutral, the better to assist the new flowering of good learning; and it seems to me that more can be done by unassuming courteousness than by violence. It was thus that Christ brought the world under His sway, and thus that Paul made

away with the Jewish Law, by interpreting all things allegorically. It is wiser to cry out against those who abuse the Pope's authority than against the Popes themselves: and I think that we should act in the same way with the Kings. As for the schools, we should not so much reject them as recall them to more reasonable studies. Where things are too generally accepted to be suddenly eradicated from men's minds, we must argue with repeated and efficacious proofs and not make positive assertions. The poisonous contentions of certain persons are better ignored than refuted. We must everywhere take care never to speak or act arrogantly or in a party spirit: this I believe is pleasing to the spirit of Christ. Meanwhile we must preserve our minds from being seduced by anger, hatred or ambition; these feelings are apt to lie in wait for us in the midst of our strivings after piety. . . .

2. TO RICHARD PACE—FLANDERS, 5 JULY 1521 (13)

May I be lost if in all of Luther's works there is a single syllable of mine, or if any calumnious book was ever published by me; on the contrary, I do all I can to deter others from issuing such works. Now, however, they are taking a new tack, and assert that Luther has borrowed some of his doctrines from my works, as if he had not borrowed more from Paul's epistles. I now see clearly at last that it has been the policy of the Germans [pro-Lutherans] to implicate me, whether I would or no, in this business of Luther,—a most unwise policy indeed, since nothing would sooner have alienated me from them. What aid indeed could I have rendered Luther even had I chosen to share his danger? The only result would have been that two must perish instead of one. I can never sufficiently wonder at the violent spirit which he has displayed in his writings, by which he has certainly brought immense discredit on all the friends of good literature. Many indeed of his teachings and exhortations are excellent, but I wish that he had not vitiated the good in his writings by his intolerable faults.

But even if he had always written in the most reverent spirit, still I should have had no inclination to risk my life for the truth. It is not every one who has strength for martyrdom, and I am afraid that if any outbreak should take place I should imitate St. Peter. When the popes and emperors decree what is right I obey,—which is the course of true piety; but when they command what is wrong, I submit,—and that is the safe course. I think that all good men are justified in acting thus when there is no hope of successful opposition. . . .

3. TO MARTIN LUTHER—SWITZERLAND, 11 APRIL 1526 (14)

. . . You imagine, I suppose, that Erasmus has no supporters. More than you think. But it does not matter what happens to us two, least of all to myself who must shortly go hence, even if the whole world were applauding us: it is *this* that distresses me, and all the best spirits with me, that with that arrogant,

impudent, seditious temperament of yours you are shattering the whole globe in ruinous discord, exposing good men and lovers of good learning to certain frenzied Pharisees, arming for revolt the wicked and the revolutionary, and in short so carrying on the cause of the Gospel as to throw all things sacred and profane into chaos; as if you were eager to prevent this storm from turning at last to a happy issue; I have ever striven towards such an opportunity. What you owe me, and in what coin you have repaid me—I do not go into that. All that is a private matter; it is the public disaster which distresses me, and the irremediable confusion of everything, for which we have to thank only your uncontrolled nature, that will not be guided by the wise counsel of friends, but easily turns to any excess at the prompting of certain inconstant swindlers. I know not whom you have saved from the power of darkness; but you should have drawn the sword of your pen against those ungrateful wretches and not against a temperate disputation. I would have wished you a better mind, were you not so delighted with your own. Wish me what you will, only not your mind, unless God has changed it for you.

F. The Peasants' Revolt

The revolt of the German peasants in 1524-1525 was an event in which Martin Luther and his teaching played an essential role. The uprising was an example of class warfare at its most bloody. Yet the German peasantry—and this was particularly true in the southern regions where the revolt occurred—was not hopelessly oppressed but was benefiting from the slow but steady rise in the standard of living that affected much of Western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Achievement of better conditions only sharpened the desire to improve their lot further. Spreading from isolated instances of discontent—the first blow was struck by the serfs of a Countess Luepfen, who felt strongly that the order to collect wild strawberries and snail shells for the lady on a feast day went beyond their obligations—the movement took an organized form with a detailed manifesto of peasant complaint which was drawn up in June, 1524. Luther answered the "Twelve Articles" of the peasants by admonishing both them and the nobility in April, 1525, to preserve the peace. That this was not done is shown by the account of events around the town of Rothenburg in the spring of that year. Luther finally turned against the peasants in a fiercely-worded attack in late May. Luther's invective has been severely condemned. This was, however, an age of vigorous and red-blooded language: Luther himself had been castigated by King Henry VIII of England as "the worst wolf of hell" who "belches forth filth" against the Pope.

—What was the goal of the peasants as presented in the "Twelve Articles"? How did they justify their actions?
—Do the events in Rothenburg seem in accord with the peasants' program?
—Was Luther's position consistent?
—To what extent might Luther's attitude in the Peasants' Revolt have been influenced by consideration of the future for his movement in Germany?

1. THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE GERMAN PEASANTS (15)

Peace to the Christian reader and the grace of God through Christ: There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the gospel, saying, "Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but that all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush together to reform, or perhaps destroy altogether, the authorities, both ecclesiastic and lay?" The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve, in the first place, to remove the reproach from the word of God and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire peasantry. . . .

The Third Article. It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and should wish to be so. . . . We therefore take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the gospel that we are serfs.

The Fourth Article. In the fourth place, it has been the custom heretofore that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man; and yet we must submit quietly. This is neither godly nor neighborly; for when God created man he gave him dominion over all the animals, over the birds of the air and over the fish in the water. Accordingly it is our desire, if a man holds possession of waters, that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been [naïvely] acquired by purchase. . . .

The Seventh Article. Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be farther oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times, when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant, and for a suitable payment. . . .

The Ninth Article. In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offense, but sometimes with great ill-will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our

opinion, we should be judged according to the old written law, so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

The Tenth Article. In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to a community. These we will take again into our own hands. . . .

Conclusion. In the twelfth place, it is our conclusion and final resolution that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly retract if it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture. Or if the articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise, if more complaints should be discovered which are based upon truth and the Scriptures and relate to offenses against God and our neighbor, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also, and to exercise ourselves in all Christian teaching. For this we shall pray to God, since he can grant our demands, and he alone. The peace of Christ abide with us all.

2. LUTHER: ADMONITION TO PEACE IN RESPONSE TO THE TWELVE ARTICLES, APRIL, 1525 (16)

There should be no serfs, because Christ has freed us all! What is that we hear? That is to make Christian freedom wholly bodily. Did not Abraham and the other patriarchs and prophets have serfs? Read what St. Paul says of servants, who in all times have been serfs. So this article is straight against the gospel, and moreover it is robbery, since each man would take his person from his lord to whom it belongs. A serf can be a good Christian and enjoy Christian liberty, just as a prisoner or a sick man may be a Christian although he is not free. This article would make all men equal and convert the spiritual kingdom of Christ into an external worldly one; but that is impossible, for a worldly realm cannot stand where there is no inequality; some must be free, others bond, some rulers, others subjects. . . .

My counsel would be that a few counts and lords should be chosen from the nobles, and from the towns a few councilors, who should settle the matter peacefully. You lords should unbend your stiff minds a bit,—for you will have to do that sooner or later whether you will or no,—and give up a little of your oppression and tyranny, so that the poor man can have a little space and air. On the other hand, the peasants will have to let a few of their articles go, which are screwed up too high. In this way the matter, even if it cannot be treated in a Christian spirit, can at least be adjusted according to human laws and agreements.

If you will not follow this advice, which God would approve, I must leave you to yourselves. But I am guiltless of your souls, your blood, and your goods.

I have told you that you are both wrong and fighting for the wrong. You nobles are not fighting against Christians, for Christians would not oppose you, but would suffer all. You are fighting against robbers and blasphemers of Christ's name; those that die among them shall be eternally damned. But neither are the peasants fighting Christians, but tyrants, enemies of God, and persecutors of men, murderers of the Holy Ghost. Those of them who die shall also be eternally damned. And this is God's certain judgment on you both—that I know. Do now what you will so long as you care not to save either your bodies or souls.

3. DIARY OF MICHAEL EISENHART OF ROTHENBURG (17)

[Eisenhart was a middle-class citizen of this old free city in Bavaria]

. . . On March 21, a Tuesday, thirty or forty peasants got together in a mob in Rothenburg, bought a kettledrum, and marched about the town, a part going to Pretheim and a part toward Orenbach. They got together again on Thursday and on Friday, as many as four hundred. . . .

March 24. This evening between five and six o'clock some one knocked off the head of Christ's image on a crucifix and struck off the arms. . . .

March 26. Chrischainz, the baker, knocked the missal out of the priest's hand in the chapel of our Lady and drove away the priest from mass. To-day the peasants let themselves be seen in the field outside the Galgenthor. . . .

On Tuesday eight hundred peasants came together. Those who would not join them willingly they forced to do so or took their property, as happened to a peasant at Wettring. . . .

On Good Friday all services were suspended in the churches of Rothenburg, for there was neither chanting nor preaching, except that Dr. John Teuschel preached against emperor, kings, princes, and lords, ecclesiastical and lay, with foul abuse and slander, on the ground that they were hindering God's word. . . .

April 20. On Thursday after Easter, the women run up and down Hafengasse with forks and sticks, declaring that they will plunder all the priests' houses, but are prevented.

April 30. The monastery of Anhausen was plundered and burned in the night, also that near Dinkelsbühl. The peasants also attacked the monastery of Schwarzach, and the castle of Reichelsberg was burned. . . .

Monday. The peasants approach Neuhaus, and next day plunder and burn. . . .

May 12. The clergy forced to take arms like the rest. All monks are compelled to lay aside their cowls and the nuns their veils.

May 21. Certain Hohenlohe peasants burn their lord's castle.

On the next Monday Margrave Casimir proceeds with his forces to subdue and punish the peasants. Hans Krelein the older, priest at Wernitz, was

beheaded, with four peasants, at Leutershausen. Seven have their fingers cut off. Likewise at Neuenstat eighteen burghers and peasants are beheaded. At Kitzingen fifty-eight have their eyes put out and are forbidden to enter the town again. . . .

On the eve of Peter and Paul's day Margrave Casimir rides into Rothenburg with four hundred horsemen, a thousand footmen, and two hundred wagons full of arms and equipments. . . .

June 30. The citizens of Rothenburg are summoned to the market place by a herald and surrounded by pikemen. They are accused of deserting the empire and joining the peasants, and are threatened with the vengeance they deserve.

The names of a number of citizens are read off, and they are beheaded on the spot. Their bodies are left on the market place all day. Some got away through the ring of soldiers. . . .

4. LUTHER: AGAINST THE MURDERING AND ROBBING BANDS OF THE PEASANTS, MAY, 1525 (18)

In my preceding pamphlet [on the "Twelve Articles"] I had no occasion to condemn the peasants, because they promised to yield to law and better instruction, as Christ also demands (Matt. vii. 1). But before I can turn around, they go out and appeal to force, in spite of their promises, and rob and pillage and act like mad dogs. From this it is quite apparent what they had in their false minds, and that what they put forth under the name of the gospel in the "Twelve Articles" was all vain pretense. . . .

With threefold horrible sins against God and men have these peasants loaded themselves, for which they have deserved a manifold death of body and soul.

First, they have sworn to their true and gracious rulers to be submissive and obedient, in accord with God's command (Matt. xxii. 21), "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," and (Rom. xiii. 1), "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." But since they have deliberately and sacrilegiously abandoned their obedience, and in addition have dared to oppose their lords, they have thereby forfeited body and soul, as perfidious, perjured, lying, disobedient wretches and scoundrels are wont to do. . . .

Second, they cause uproar and sacrilegiously rob and pillage monasteries and castles that do not belong to them, for which, like public highwaymen and murderers, they deserve the twofold death of body and soul. . . . Rebellion is not simply vile murder, but is like a great fire that kindles and devastates a country; it fills the land with murder and bloodshed, makes widows and orphans, and destroys everything, like the greatest calamity. Therefore, whosoever can, should smite, strangle, and stab, secretly or publicly, and should remember that there is nothing more poisonous, pernicious, and devilish than a rebellious man.

Just as one must slay a mad dog, so, if you do not fight the rebels, they will fight you, and the whole country with you.

Third, they cloak their frightful and revolting sins with the gospel, call themselves Christian brethren, swear allegiance, and compel people to join them in such abominations. Thereby they become the greatest blasphemers and violators of God's holy name, and serve and honor the devil under the semblance of the gospel, so that they have ten times deserved death of body and soul, for never have I heard of uglier sins. . . .

Questions for Thought

To what conclusion can you come concerning Luther? In what way was he a man of the Renaissance? In what way a son of the Middle Ages? Could you make a good case that he was a rebel hewing fresh pathways to a new world? Or a conservative dedicated to find a return to the simpler Christianity of the Apostles? Is there another possible interpretation?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) David Hume, *The History of England* (London, 1759), pp. 506-07.
(2) Heinrich von Treitschke, *Germany, France, Russia, and Islam* (New York, 1915), p. 229. Reprinted by permission of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. and The Macmillan Co.
(3) A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (New York, 1946), pp. 18-19. Reprinted by permission of Coward–McCann, Inc., Publishers.
(4) J. Scott, A. Hyma, A. Noyes, eds., *Readings in Medieval History* (New York, 1933), p. 548. Reprinted by permission of Dr. Albert Hyma and Appleton–Century–Crofts, Inc.
(5) Desiderius Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly* (London, n.d.), pp. 86-87, 157-59.
(6) Roland H. Bainton, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1956), p. 94. Reprinted by permission of D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.
(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
(8) H. Wace and C. Buchheim, eds., *First Principles of the Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 6-14, the Fortress Press.
(9) H. Wace and C. Buchheim, eds., *Luther's Primary Works* (London, 1896), pp. 81-86. Reprinted by permission of Hodder Stoughton Ltd.
(10) Charles D. Warner, ed., *Library of the World's Best Literature* (Boston, 1896), XXIII, 9328-32.
(11) James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston, 1906), II, 83-84. Reprinted by permission of Blaisdell Publishing Company, a division of Ginn and Company.
(12) Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (London, 1952), pp. 229-31. Reprinted by permission of Mr. Robert Harben.
(13) Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
(14) Huizinga, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42
(15) Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-99.
(16) *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.
(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 101-06.
(18) *Ibid.*, pp. 106-08.

PART II

The Continuity of Religious Reform: Catholic Reformation and Calvinism

Like most historical movements, the Catholic Reformation was the result of multiple forces, some ancient and some new, some from within the Church and some from outside it. Dissatisfaction with conditions in the Church steadily increased in the century before Luther. The establishment of a council of the clergy to serve as a check on papal absolutism had, in fact, been urged by reform groups since the twelfth century. The Councils of Constance (1414) and Basel (1431-1434), for example, unsuccessfully attempted to inaugurate such a change in the organization of the Church. Aware that the Conciliar Movement was not dead, the popes of the Reformation era, fearing the abolition of their absolutist control, refused to call a council to consider reform of abuses and thus meet the Lutheran challenge. So complete was papal control of the Church that no alternate center of power existed to bring about the necessary changes.

The Reformation popes should perhaps have reminded themselves that the history of the Roman Church was peopled with zealous and dedicated men who had reordered its life and practices. One such man was Nicholas Cardinal Cusa (1401-1464). He declared that God could be known only through mystical experience, minimized the role of the organized Church in religious life, and rejected the rationalizations of the scholastics. After the failure of the Council of Basel to control the papacy, Cusa traveled about Germany and Holland correcting monastic abuses and dreaming of a union of Christians, Jews, and Moslems. Cardinal Ximines of Spain (1436-1517) likewise was moved by a mystical piety and zeal that led him to undertake the reform of his own religious order and subsequently of the secular clergy throughout Spain. While he introduced the new learning into the University of Alcala, thus initiating the use of humanism to bolster the faith, he also, as Grand Inquisitor of the Inquisition, forced Moor and Jew to choose baptism or death.

Such religious enthusiasm also resulted in the creation of new religious societies. In Rome a small group of priests and laymen associated themselves in the Oratory of Divine Love (1517) to deepen their spiritual understanding and to work for the improvement of the Church. The society spread to other cities, and its members gradually gained influence with the papacy. One of its members, in fact, became Paul IV (1555-1559), the first of a succession of sincere reformers on the papal throne.

The most important of the new monastic orders was the Society of Jesus, which was founded by a former soldier, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), while

he was convalescing from wounds received during battle. For the followers who soon gathered around him, he worked out a constitution that provided for a highly disciplined military order under strict obedience to its superiors. In 1541 Loyola and his disciples offered their services to the Pope. They became one of the chief agents for staying the spread of Protestantism and for winning back parts of Europe to Catholicism.

But major reform could come only through the initiative of the papacy itself. Such initiative was finally taken by Paul III (1534-1549), who reluctantly consented to the calling of a council. If it had been held earlier, Protestant leaders might have attended. By 1545 it was too late; Lutherans and other dissenting groups were no longer willing even to discuss the issues. Moreover, it is doubtful that much would have come of joint discussions, for the Catholic clergy who supported a dogmatic position were soon in control. They dominated the Council of Trent, which Paul had called together. In three widely-spaced sessions (1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1564) the Council largely reaffirmed traditional Catholic doctrine and adopted measures for reform of major abuses.

By the time of the meetings of the Council of Trent the intellectual voice of Protestantism was centered in John Calvin (1509-1564), the French humanist, lawyer, and reformer. Obsessed with the majesty of God and the sinfulness of man, he formulated in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* an eloquent, logical, and influential statement of the relation of God to man. Calvin was as dogmatic as the Catholic clergy assembled at Trent. His *Institutes* drew on the church fathers, particularly St. Augustine, for its central doctrine of predestination; but to Calvin the Bible was the revealed word of God, the work that regulated faith, morals, history, politics—indeed everything! This was the basis of the theocratic state that Calvin developed in Geneva. It was made explicit in his *Catechism* for young people. Critics have pointed out that Calvinism attempted to establish a lay monasticism without orders, a mysticism without relics or saints, and an authoritarian clergy and church without tradition. Calvin, like many other reformers before and since, considered himself the servant of God, not of men. Like Ximenes, he saw no need for compromise or toleration. Such is the nature of the religious zealot. It is difficult for men of our time to comprehend this theologically-centered zeal. Perhaps its parallel can best be found today in the zealots of political ideology.

Aside from this factor of religious zeal, why did Catholic and Protestant critics not cooperate in resolving their doctrinal interpretations and in remedying the abuses within the Church? What, for example, would it have taken to have kept Calvin within the bosom of Catholicism? What hypotheses can be offered to explain the fact that Ximenes, the Cardinals, the Jesuits, the Council of Trent, and Calvin were all engaged in drawing up or insisting upon the observation of religious rules?

A. Cardinal Ximenes and Pre-Lutheran Reform of the Spanish Church

The Spanish Church throughout the Middle Ages had been on the frontier of Christianity, facing the invading Moslem civilization from Africa. When Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 and began the development of a unified dynastic state, loyalty to Catholicism became identified with developing Spanish nationalism. It is against this background that the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition (begun in 1480) as an instrument of state and church to destroy both religious and political enemies must be understood. Ximenes de Cisneros (1436-1517) became Isabella's confessor, Archbishop of Toledo, and later Cardinal of the Church. Born a generation before Luther, he was fired by an ardent desire to do God's will, to purify the Church, and to convert the infidel. The selection below is from William H. Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, *published in 1837. Prescott is today considered one of the few great American historians.*

—Why was Isabella interested in Church reform?
—What was the reason for the differing attitudes of the Queen and Ximenes towards the means to be employed in reform?
—How did the role of the Church in Spain compare with that of the Church in Germany?

1. PRESCOTT ON CARDINAL XIMENES (1)

The Spanish sovereigns had long witnessed with deep regret the scandalous abuses which had crept into these ancient institutions [of the Church], and had employed commissioners for investigating and reforming them, but ineffectually. Isabella now gladly availed herself of the assistance of her confessor in bringing them into a better state of discipline. In the course of the same year, 1494, she obtained a bull with full authority for this purpose from Alexander the Sixth, the execution of which she intrusted to Ximenes. The work of reform required all the energies of his powerful mind, backed by the royal authority. For, in addition to the obvious difficulty of persuading men to resign the good things of this world for a life of penance and mortification, there were other impediments, arising from the circumstance that the conventuals had been countenanced in their lax interpretation of the rules of their order by many of their own superiors, and even the popes themselves. They were, besides, sustained in their opposition by many of the great lords, who were apprehensive that the rich chapels and masses which they or their ancestors had founded in the various monasteries would be neglected by the observantines, whose scrupulous adherence to the vow of poverty excluded them from what, in church as well as state, is too often found the most cogent incentive to the performance of duty.

From these various causes, the work of reform went on slowly; but the untiring exertions of Ximenes gradually effected its adoption in many establish-

ments; and, where fair means could not prevail, he sometimes resorted to force. The monks of one of the convents in Toledo, being ejected from their dwelling in consequence of their pertinacious resistance, marched out in solemn procession, with the crucifix before them, chanting, at the same time, the psalm *In exitu Israel,* in token of their persecution. Isabella resorted to milder methods. She visited many of the nunneries in person, taking her needle or distaff with her, and endeavoring by her conversation and example to withdraw their inmates from the low and frivolous pleasures to which they were addicted.

While the reformation was thus silently going forward, the vacancy in the archbishopric of Toledo, already noticed, occurred by the death of the grand cardinal (1495). Isabella deeply felt the responsibility of providing a suitable person for this dignity, the most considerable not merely in Spain, but probably in Christendom, after the papacy; one which, moreover, raised its possessor to eminent political rank, as high chancellor of Castile. The right of nomination to benefices was vested in the queen by the original settlement of the crown. She had uniformly discharged this trust with the most conscientious impartiality, conferring the honors of the church on none but persons of approved piety and learning. In the present instance she was strongly solicited by Ferdinand in favor of his natural son Alfonso, archbishop of Saragossa. But this prelate, although not devoid of talent, had neither the age nor experience, and still less the exemplary morals, demanded for this important station; and the queen mildly but unhesitatingly resisted all entreaty and expostulation of her husband on his behalf. . . .

As soon as the papal bull reached Castile, confirming the royal nomination, Isabella summoned Ximenes to her presence, and, delivering to him the parcel, requested him to open it before her. The confessor, who had no suspicion of their real purport, took the letters and devoutly pressed them to his lips; when, his eye falling on the superscription, "To our venerable brother Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, archbishop elect of Toledo," he changed color, and involuntarily dropped the packet from his hands, exclaiming, "There is some mistake in this: it cannot be intended for me;" and abruptly quitted the apartment. . . .

But although Ximenes showed no craving for power, it must be confessed he was by no means diffident in the use of it. One of the very first acts of his administration is too characteristic to be omitted. The government of Cazorla, the most considerable place in the gift of the archbishop of Toledo, had been intrusted by the grand cardinal to his younger brother, Don Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza. The friends of this nobleman applied to Ximenes to confirm the appointment, reminding him at the same time of his own obligations to the cardinal, and enforcing their petition by the recommendation which they had obtained from the queen. This was not the way to approach Ximenes, who was jealous of any improper influence over his own judgment, and, above all, of the too easy abuse of the royal favor. He was determined, in the outset, effectually to discourage all such applications; and he declared that "the sovereigns might send him back to the cloister again, but that no personal considerations should ever operate with him in distributing the honors of the church." The applicants,

nettled at this response, returned to the queen, complaining in the bitterest terms of the arrogance and ingratitude of the new primate. Isabella, however, evinced no symptoms of disapprobation, not altogether displeased, perhaps, with the honest independence of her minister; at any rate, she took no further notice of the affair.

Some time after, the archbishop encountered Mendoza in one of the avenues of the palace, and, as the latter was turning off to avoid the meeting, he saluted him with the title of *adelantado* of Cazorla. Mendoza stared with astonishment at the prelate, who repeated the salutation, assuring him "that, now he was at full liberty to consult his own judgment, without the suspicion of any sinister influence, he was happy to restore him to a station for which he had shown himself well qualified." It is scarcely necessary to say that Ximenes was not importuned after this with solicitations for office. Indeed, any personal application he affected to regard as of itself sufficient ground for a denial, since it indicated "the want either of merit or of humility in the applicant." . . .

His attempts at innovation among the regular clergy of his own order were encountered with more serious opposition. The reform fell most heavily on the Franciscans, who were interdicted by their rules from holding property, whether as a community or as individuals; while the members of other fraternities found some compensation for the surrender of their private fortunes, in the consequent augmentation of those of their fraternity. There was no one of the religious orders, therefore, in which the archbishop experienced such a dogged resistance to his plans as in his own. More than a thousand friars, according to some accounts, quitted the country and passed over to Barbary, preferring rather to live with the infidel than conform to the strict letter of the founder's rules.

The difficulties of the reform were perhaps augmented by the mode in which it was conducted. Isabella, indeed, used all gentleness and persuasion; but Ximenes carried measures with a high and inexorable hand. He was naturally of an austere and arbitrary temper, and the severe training which he had undergone made him less charitable for the lapses of others, especially of those who, like himself, had voluntarily incurred the obligations of monastic rule. He was conscious of the rectitude of his intentions; and, as he identified his own interests with those of the church, he regarded all opposition to himself as an offence against religion, warranting the most peremptory exertion of power. . . .

Notwithstanding the queen's most earnest wishes, it may be doubted whether this [reform] would have ever been achieved without the co-operation of a man like Ximenes, whose character combined in itself all the essential elements of a reformer. Happily, Isabella was permitted to see before her death, if not the completion, at least the commencement, of a decided amendment in the morals of the religious orders; an amendment which, far from being transitory in its character, calls forth the most emphatic eulogium from a Castilian writer far in the following century; who, while he laments their ancient laxity, boldly challenges comparison for the religious communities of his own country with those of any other, in temperance, chastity, and exemplary purity of life and conversation.

B. The Catholic Reformation after Luther

The response of the Catholic Church to the challenge of Protestantism was not unanimous. Among the higher clergy a number of reformers sought both to reform the Church and to heal the breach with Protestantism. The dogmatists, on the other hand, insisted on strict adherence to Catholic tradition and doctrine. Under Pope Paul III (1534–1549) the reform element became increasingly influential. A nine-man commission of cardinals, members of the Oratory of Divine Love, which was appointed by the Pope in 1538 to prepare a report on the condition of the Church, was so outspoken on abuses that publication of the report was forbidden. It was, however, printed in Germany, where the Lutherans used it as evidence that their criticisms were well-founded. The dogmatists gradually gained ascendancy. In 1540 Paul III recognized the Jesuit Order, the greatest single instrument of the Catholic Reformation. In 1542 he established the Italian Inquisition to combat heresy and three years later convened the Council of Trent. The mediating faction within the Church, which strove for reconciliation with the Protestants, gradually lost all significant influence. Pius IV (1559-1565) reconvened the Council in its last and most important session. In 1564 he issued the Bull Injunctum nobis. *Known as the Tridentine Profession of Faith, it remains today an authoritative statement of Catholic dogma.*

—What differentiated the reforms suggested by the cardinals from those of Luther? Why would Paul III find it necessary to suppress the report?
—How did the Society of Jesus try to bolster papal power?
—Why did the Pope resort to the Inquisition?
—What position did the Tridentine Profession take on the sources of religious dogma, on Christian belief, and on Church authority?
—What significance might the profession of faith have for the future development of Christianity?

1. REFORMS PROPOSED BY THE CARDINALS, 1538 (2)

To begin with, laws should be observed. Nothing is more subversive of laws than dispensations. Nor should the vicar of Christ in exercising the power of the keys have any eye to gain. One abuse is the ordination of priests, even mere lads, utterly unqualified reprobates. No one should be ordained save by a bishop who should have a teacher in his see for clerics in minor orders. Benefices should be conferred only on learned, upright men who will be in residence. An Italian should not be appointed to a post in Spain or Britain. A great abuse is the reservation of revenues designed for the indigent but consigned to the wealthy. The permutation of benefices for gain is simony. By no subterfuge should benefices be treated as legacies. The granting of expectations on benefices engenders the wish that somebody will die. Pluralities, especially in bishoprics, should be abolished and as for the combining of benefices, is not that an evasion

of the law? The holding of bishoprics and sometimes several by cardinals is incompatible with their office, because they should assist Your Holiness in the governance of the Church universal, whereas a bishop should look after his flock. How is the Holy See to correct the abuses of others if there be so many in the chief members? Nothing is more important, blessed Father, than that bishops should reside in their sees. What more grievous sight could afflict a traveler throughout Christendom than to view so many neglected churches? Equally is it an abuse that the cardinals should reside in their provinces rather than here at Rome. By the blood of Christ we beseech Your Holiness not to suborn the authority of the bishops by suffering priests under discipline to escape through appeal. Confessors should be appointed not by friars but by bishops. A most pernicious abuse is the teaching of impiety by professors in the universities and especially in Italy. The *Colloquies* of Erasmus should not be used for the instruction of youth. Apostate monks, who have abandoned their habits, should not be given dispensations for money. Dispensations should not be given to those in holy orders to marry unless it be to retain an entire people in the faith, especially in these days when the Lutherans so insistently demand clerical marriage. Dispensations for marriage should not be given in the second degree and in the other degrees only for good cause and without money. Absolution should not be given for simony. There are those who having committed it, then buy absolution and retain the benefice purchased. Portable confessionals are not approved. Indulgences should not be allowed in a given territory more than once a year. Commutation of vows is not approved. Testaments are not to be altered unless some grave change has occurred in the fortunes of the family. Since Rome is the mother of the churches it is scandalous that the priests officiating in St. Peter's are ignorant and filthy. In this city prostitutes are conveyed like matrons by mules followed by cardinals and clerics. This shameful abuse must be ended. The cardinals should endeavor to compose feuds between Roman citizens. There are in this city hospitals and widows who should be your especial care.

Blessed Father, these are our modest proposals to be tempered by your goodness and wisdom. You have taken the name of Paul. May you imitate the love of Paul that you may make the Church a washed and spotless dove.

2. FOUNDING OF THE JESUITS: THE OATH OF THE JESUITS APPROVED BY PAUL III, 1539 (3)

Whoever wishes to be a warrior of God under the banner of the cross in our society, which bears the name of Jesus, to serve God alone and His vicar on earth, the Roman Pontiff, must after taking the solemn vow of perpetual chastity dedicate himself to propagate the faith through public preaching and ministry of the Word of God, spiritual exercises and works of piety and particularly the religious education of children, by affording spiritual consolation through the hearing of confessions. He must keep constantly God before his eyes, striving to attain the goal set him by God and to fulfill those rules which are in a sense

a way to God. Lest any behave with excessive zeal let each member place himself entirely under the direction of the general or prelates chosen by us. This general shall have authority to establish a constitution in conclave where the decision of the majority shall prevail. In major matters a majority of the entire membership must be present; in minor affairs those who happen to be at hand. Let every member recognize that not only when he makes his profession, but throughout his life, he is subject to the present Pope and to his successors. We are bound beyond the ordinary by a particular vow in this regard. If then the present Pope or his successors should send us for the improvement of souls or the propagation of the faith to the Turks or other infidels even in India or to heretics, schismatics or some of the faithful, we are to obey without evasion or excuse. Wherefore, those who would join us should consider long before taking this load upon their shoulders and should well count the cost whether they have sufficient spiritual wealth to build the tower. In everything touching the rule, let obedience be given to the general. He in turn is always to be mindful of the goodness, gentleness, and love of Christ. All should be concerned for the instruction of youth in Christian doctrine and the Ten Commandments. Since we have discovered a life of poverty to be more conducive to happiness, purity and edification, we vow ourselves to perpetual poverty not only singly but as an order in the sense that there is to be no legal holding but rather contentment with gifts covering necessities, except that in schools it is permissible to have whatever is necessary for students.

3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION BY PAUL III, 1542 (4)

Although from the beginning of our Pontificate we have been concerned for the flourishing of the Catholic faith and the expurgation of heresy that those seduced by diabolical wiles might return to the fold and unity of the Church and that those who persist in their damnable course should be removed and their punishment might serve as an example to others, nevertheless hoping that the mercy of God, the prayers of the faithful and the preaching of the learned would cause them to recognize their errors and come back to the Holy Catholic Church, and if any delayed they would be induced by the authority of the sacred, ecumenical and general council, which we hope speedily to convene, therefore we deferred the establishment of the Inquisition of heretical Pravity, but now, since for a variety of reasons, the council has not met and the enemy of the human race has disseminated even more heresy among the faithful and the robe of Christ is further rent, consequently, lest pending a council things grow worse, we have appointed our beloved sons, Giovanni Caraffa [and five others], Inquisitors General with jurisdiction throughout Christendom including Italy and the Roman Curia. They are to investigate by way of inquisition all and single who wander from the way of the Lord and the Catholic faith, as well as those suspected of heresy, together with their followers and abettors, public or private,

direct or indirect. The guilty and the suspects are to be imprisoned and proceeded against up to the final sentence. Those adjudged guilty are to be punished in accord with canonical penalties. After the infliction of death goods may be put up for sale. The aid of the civil arm may be invoked to implement whatever measures the above named deem needful. Any who impede will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul.

4. THE TRIDENTINE PROFESSION OF FAITH, 1564 (5)

I, *N*[ame], with steadfast faith believe and profess each and all the things contained in the Symbol of faith which the Holy Roman Church uses, namely 'I believe in One God, etc. [The Nicene Creed].'

I most firmly acknowledge and embrace the Apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions and other observances and constitutions of the same Church. I acknowledge the sacred Scripture according to that sense which the Holy Mother Church has held and holds, to whom it belongs to decide upon the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, nor will I ever receive and interpret the Scripture except according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

I profess also that there are seven sacraments. . . . I embrace and receive each and all of the definitions and declarations of the sacred Council of Trent on Original Sin and Justification.

I profess likewise that true God is offered in the Mass, a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most Holy Eucharist there are truly, really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and that a conversion is made of the whole substance of bread into his body and of the whole substance of wine into his blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation. I also confess that the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament is taken under the one species alone.

I hold unswervingly that there is a purgatory and that the souls there detained are helped by the intercessions of the faithful; likewise also that the Saints who reign with Christ are to be venerated and invoked; that they offer prayers to God for us and that their relics are to be venerated. I firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the ever-Virgin Mother of God, as also those of other Saints, are to be kept and retained, and that due honor and veneration is to be accorded them; and I affirm that the power of indulgences has been left by Christ in the Church, and that their use is very salutary for Christian people.

I recognize the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches; and I vow and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of blessed Peter, the chief of the Apostles and the representative [*vicarius*] of Jesus Christ.

I accept and profess, without doubting, the traditions, definitions and declarations of the sacred Canons and Oecumenical Councils and especially those of the holy Council of Trent; and at the same time I condemn, reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies condemned, rejected and

anathematized by the Church. This true Catholic Faith (without which no one can be in a state of salvation), which at this time I of my own will profess and truly hold, I, *N,* vow and swear, God helping me, most constantly to keep and confess entire and undefiled to my life's last breath, and that I will endeavor, as far as in me shall lie, that it be held, taught and preached by my subordinates or by those who shall be placed under my care: so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.

C. Calvinism

The doctrines of John Calvin (1509-1564) became the way in which generations of Western men viewed their relationship to the scheme of things. Stern in its demands on the individual Christian, Calvinism had much in common with the faith of many of the mystics and reformers within Catholicism. It differed from Catholicism in its treatment of the doctrine of Grace (God's free grant to man of salvation) and of the role of the Church, through the sacraments, to administer it; it differed from Lutheranism largely in the doctrine of Predestination, which it borrowed in great part from St. Augustine. God's omnipotence, Calvin felt, determined before birth whether man was under grace and predestined to salvation. As a member of the "elect," one performed good works as an outward sign of inner grace. The Huguenots in France, the Reformed in the Low Countries and Germany, the Presbyterians in Scotland, and many others were affected by Calvinist logic. Crossing to America with Puritan settlers, the ideas became a part of the American heritage. The excerpts below are from Calvin's Catechism. *They show something of what was taught Genevan children about duty, sacraments, and salvation.*

—How did Calvin's conception of the sacraments compare with the Catholic position in the Tridentine Profession?
—If Calvin had remained within the Catholic Church, would he have been more in agreement with Ximenes, the Cardinals, the Jesuits, or the Oratory of Divine Love?
—How were faith and predestination related in Calvinism? Was this relationship more representative of medieval or post-Tridentine Catholicism?

1. CALVIN'S CATECHISM (6)

Minister: What is the chief end of man?
Child: It is to know God his creator.
M: What reason have you for this answer?
C: Because God has created us, and placed us in this world, that he may be glorified in us. And it is certainly right, as he is the author of our life, that it should advance his glory.

M: What is the true method of rendering him due honour?

C: It is to put our whole trust in him; to serve him in all obedience to his will, all our life; to call upon him in all our necessities seeking in him salvation, and every good thing which can be desired; and finally, to acknowledge, both in the heart and with the mouth, that he is the sole author of all blessings. . . .

M: What is a sacrament?

C: It is an outward testimony of the divine benevolence towards us, which, by a visible sign, shadows forth spiritual graces, by which the promises of God are sealed in our hearts, that the truth of them may be more firmly established.

M: How many sacraments are there in the Christian Church?

C: Two only, the use of which is common among all believers.

M: Which are they?

C: Baptism and the Holy Supper.

M: What is the resemblance or difference between them?

C: Baptism is the appropriate way of entrance into the Church. For in this we have the testimony, that we who were before strangers and foreigners are received into the family of God, and numbered among his household. But the Supper witnesses that God, by nourishing our souls, shows himself a Father to us. . . .

M: [What is faith?]

C: . . . Faith is the certain and sober knowledge of the paternal benevolence of God towards us, according to his testimony in the Gospel; that he will be to us, for the sake of Christ, a Father and a Savior.

M: Do we obtain that of ourselves, or do we receive it from God?

C: The scriptures teach us, that it is the special gift of God, and experience confirms the testimony.

M: Inform me what experience?

C: Truly, our understandings are too weak to comprehend that spiritual knowledge of God, which is revealed to us by Faith; and our hearts have too strong a propensity to distrust God, and to put a perverse confidence in ourselves or the creatures, for us to submit to him of our own mere motion. But the Holy Spirit makes us capable, by his own illumination, of understanding these things, which otherwise very far exceed our capacity, and forms in us a sure persuasion, by sealing in our hearts the promise of salvation. . . .

M: Hence you infer, that we cannot by any merits of our own, come before God and challenge his favour; but rather, in all our undertakings and pursuits, we expose ourselves to his wrath and condemnation.

C: So I think. Therefore it is of his mere mercy, and not from any respect to our works, that he freely embraces us in Christ, and holds us accepted, by accounting that righteousness of his, which is accepted by us, as our own; and not imputing our sins unto us.

Questions for Thought

Since criticism of abuses and differences over dogma were widespread within the body of Catholicism, why did some groups separate from and others remain in the Roman faith? What beliefs and practices did the Catholics and Protestants have in common? In retrospect, was their area of agreement larger or smaller than their area of disagreement?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (London, 1902), II, 382-87, 391-92, 397.
(2) Roland H. Bainton, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1956), pp. 152-53. Reprinted by permission of D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 155.
(5) Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (New York, 1873), II, 207-10.
(6) Elijah Waterman, ed., *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva by the Rev. John Calvin* (Hartford, 1815), pp. 9-10, 35-38, 87-94.

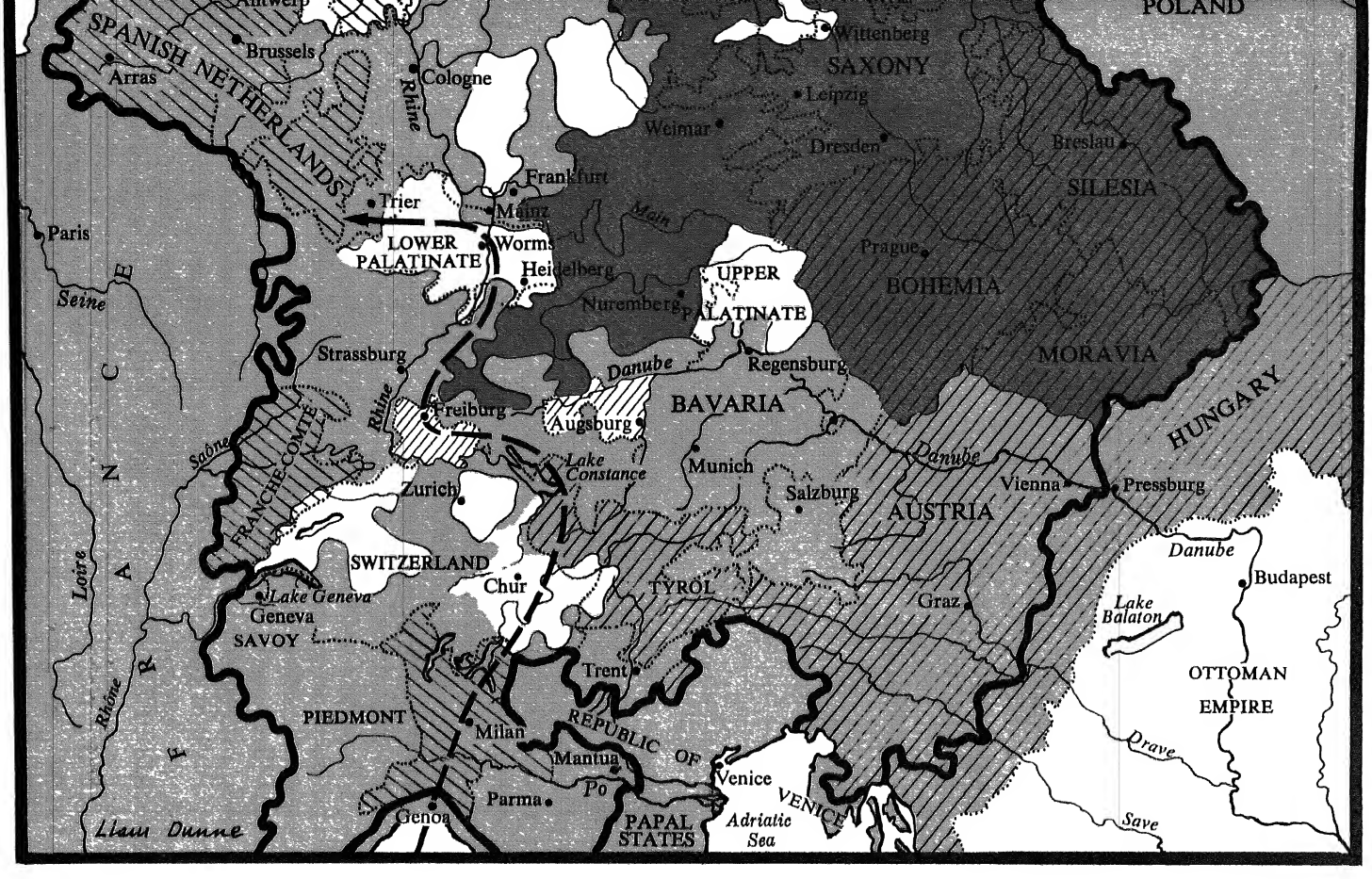
PART III

Religion and Politics: The Thirty Years' War

In the wake of Luther's revolt from Rome it seemed likely that all of Germany—and indeed most of Northern Europe—would become Protestant. In 1557 a Venetian diplomat reported that nine-tenths of Germany was already Protestant and that the whole country would soon be completely lost to Catholicism. Understandably, the rapid spread of the new faith affected the German political scene as well. In the beginning the Reformation offered Germans the possibility of rallying behind a great national movement to reconstruct the political and social structure of the decaying Holy Roman Empire; that such a movement did not materialize was due to the hostility of the Habsburgs, the particularism of the German princes, and Luther's own repudiation of rebellion against authority.

Instead Emperor Charles V (1519–1556) attempted to suppress Protestantism while continuing his efforts to consolidate the Habsburg hold on Germany. He was unsuccessful in both endeavors. Defense of Protestantism pro-

CENTRAL EUROPE
AT THE TIME OF THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR
Austrian-Habsburg possessions
Spanish-Habsburg possessions
Catholic areas
Lutheran areas
Calvinist areas
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
Route of Spanish troops from Italy to Spanish Netherlands
MILES
0 50 100 200
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Gothenburg
DENMARK
GOTHLAND
OLAND
Copenhagen
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Schleswig
BORNHOLM
Lübeck
Rostock
ENGLAND
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Bremen
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
Danzig
Osnabrück
Hanover
Cleves
Münster
Brunswick
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Oder
Vistula


POLAND
Wittenberg
SAXONY
Leipzig
Weimar
Dresden
Breslau
SILESIA
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
HUNGARY
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Arras
Cologne
Rhine
Frankfurt
Trier
Mainz
Main
Paris
LOWER PALATINATE
Worms
Heidelberg
UPPER PALATINATE
Nuremberg
Seine
Strassburg
Danube
Regensburg
Freiburg
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Rhine
Saône
FRANCHE-COMTÉ
Lake Constance
Munich
Danube
Vienna
Pressburg
Zurich
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
Chur
TYROL
Graz
Danube
Budapest
Lake Balaton
Lake Geneva
Geneva
SAVOY
Loire
Rhône
Trent
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PIEDMONT
Milan
REPUBLIC OF
Mantua
Venice
VENICE
Drave
Po
Parma
Genoa
PAPAL STATES
Adriatic Sea
Save
Llain Dunne

vided the German princes with a justification to fight for continued freedom from imperial control, or, as it was then called, for their "German liberties." In 1555 Charles granted the Religious Peace of Augsburg, by the terms of which every German prince was permitted to determine the religion of his subjects (Catholic or Lutheran). This arbitrary principle enhanced the authority of the princes and was generally observed during the following half-century, although lack of enforcing power enabled several areas to adhere to the Calvinist faith, which had been excluded from the settlement. It was quite otherwise with the provision of the Peace of Augsburg forbidding the secularization of further Church lands. One Catholic bishopric after another was swallowed up in the wave of Protestant advance.

The last quarter of the sixteenth century marked the stemming of this Protestant tide as the Counter-Reformation gathered momentum. By 1610 the two faiths had reached a rough balance in Germany, and a militant Catholic League under the leadership of ambitious Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1597–1650) faced an equally truculent Protestant Union headed by the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate. The Calvinists, representing less than a quarter of the German Protestants, were the activists of this misnamed "union," for the Lutherans, although disturbed by the Catholic renaissance, were content to maintain the Augsburg agreements and loath to extend the religious provisions to the Calvinists, whom they regarded with only slightly less antipathy than the Catholics. Behind the reluctance of the Lutheran princes to disturb the status quo lay a ground common also to their Catholic counterparts: the desire to do nothing that might endanger their "German liberties."

Events determined otherwise. In 1618 the nobles of Bohemia, an area controlled by the Habsburgs for over a century, revolted against Habsburg religious and political policy. The Bohemians (modern Czechs) had a long "protestant" heritage, springing from the reform activities of John Hus at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Now they deposed their king (who was soon to become Emperor Ferdinand II, 1619–1637) and elected in his stead Frederick of the Palatinate, some of whose territories adjoined Bohemia. With no great difficulty the Catholic armies of Ferdinand and Maximilian of Bavaria crushed the Bohemian revolt in 1620 and chased the hapless Frederick back to the Palatinate.

This seeming end to an internal Habsburg dispute actually constituted the opening move in a conflict that brought thirty years of civil war to Germany and eventually involved most of the nations of Europe. The two branches of the Habsburg family (Austrian and Spanish), who had shared the realms of Charles V upon his abdication in 1556, saw an opportunity to roll back the Protestant movement while simultaneously extending Habsburg power. The destruction of the Palatinate would fulfill both objectives. It was the sparkplug of aggressive Protestantism and was situated in a crucial position on the route connecting Habsburg possessions in Italy and Central Europe with the Spanish Netherlands. Contrary to Habsburg hopes, however, the conquest of the Palatinate in 1621–1623 and the dissolution of the Calvinist Church within its borders alarmed Europe sufficiently to lead to the formation of a complex of coalitions aimed at blunting the Habsburg triumph.

The Thirty Years' War was actually a confused mixture of military campaigns and truces, shifting alliances, and disorganized raiding. It can, however, be divided into four major periods, each named for the leading opponent of the Habsburgs at the time: the Bohemian phase from 1618 to 1623; the Danish phase from 1625–1629, in which King Christian of Denmark proved an inadequate champion for the Protestant cause; the Swedish phase from 1630 to 1635, which is the subject of one of the sections of the present problem; and the French phase from 1635–1648, during which the French kept the struggle going, despite the general exhaustion of the participants and the devastation of Germany, until they felt the Habsburgs had been sufficiently weakened.

The problem which the following readings raise takes for granted the presence of political motivation in the struggle between Catholics and Protestants. It is concerned with the interrelation of religion and politics. The reader, as he studies the selections, should ask himself whether he is dealing here with a religious war penetrated by political undercurrents or with a political war embellished by religious overtones. What influence can religious convictions exert on the functioning of politics? How are religious goals affected by political objectives?

A. The Devastation of the War

Opinions vary on the amount of destruction caused in Germany by the Thirty Years' War. Yet even those who argue that the losses of population, the number of ruined towns, and the depression of commerce and agriculture have been exaggerated admit that the population declined, scores of towns and villages were looted and burned, and the general state of the economy in 1648 was below that in 1618. Perhaps most fateful of all was the shadow that a generation of brutal conflict cast over German social and cultural development.

The selections in this section illustrate the disregard for life and property that permeated a struggle ostensibly carried on to maintain religious ideals. The first selection is from a famous seventeenth-century novel by Hans von Grimmelshausen (1622–1674). Adventures of a Simpleton (*Simplicissimus*) *tells the tale of a boy brought into contact with life through his experiences in the war, much as the author himself was buffeted about in the war's last phase. The novel presents a vivid picture of the savagery of the era. The second selection is taken from a contemporary account of the destruction of one of the leading commercial towns in northern Germany by the Catholic forces after a long siege in 1631.*

—Does the barbarism described in these accounts imply that the war was not primarily religiously motivated? Why or why not?

1. GRIMMELSHAUSEN: THE ADVENTURES OF SIMPLICIUS SIMPLICISSIMUS (1)

The course of my story demands that I should leave to posterity a picture

of the horrifying and quite unheard-of cruelties sometimes perpetrated in this our German war—the more so since my own example proves that the Almighty in His wisdom often inflicted such evils on us for our profit. For who, kind reader, would have told me that there is a God in Heaven had not the soldiers destroyed my Dad's house and so forced me to wander among folk who could give me the necessary instruction? Until then I neither knew nor could imagine anything but that my Dad, my Mum, Ursula, and I and our household were the only inhabitants of the universe, for never had I met any other human being, nor seen any house but the princely palace in which we lived and which I have already described. But soon hereafter I learned of the way of men's coming into this world, how they are here only for a little while and must often depart from it again unexpectedly. Only in my appearance was I human, and only in my name a Christian—for the rest, I was a beast of the field. But the Almighty in His mercy saw my innocence and decided to bring me to a knowledge of Him and of myself. And though a thousand ways to this were no doubt open to Him, He presumably intended to use one which would, as an example to others, punish my Dad and Mum for the careless way in which they had brought me up.

The first thing these troopers did in the blackened room of my Dad was to stable their mounts. Thereafter, each fell to his appointed task, fraught in every case with ruin and destruction. For although some began to slaughter, cook, and roast, as if for a merry banquet, others stormed through the house from top to bottom, ransacking even the privy, as though they thought the Golden Fleece might be hidden there. Some packed great bundles of cloth, apparel, and household goods, as if to set up a stall for a jumble sale, but what they had no use for they smashed and destroyed. Some thrust their swords into the hay and straw as if they had not enough sheep and pigs to slaughter. Others emptied the feather-beds and pillows of their down, filling them instead with meat and other provender, as if that would make them more comfortable to sleep on. Others again smashed stoves and windows as if to herald an everlasting summer. They flattened copper and pewter utensils and packed up the bent and useless pieces; chests, tables, chairs, and benches they burnt, though in the yard they could have found many cords of firewood. Finally, they broke every dish and saucepan, either because they preferred their food roasted or because they intended to have no more than a single meal there.

Our maid, for shame, was so man-handled in the stable that she lay there like dead. Our man they threw bound to the earth, thrust a wedge between his teeth, and poured a bucket of liquid dung down his throat. They called it Swedish Punch, but he did not seem to like it at all, pulling the oddest faces. By this method they forced him to lead some of their number to another place, where they captured more men and cattle and brought them to our farm. My Dad, and Mum, and our Ursula were among them.

And now they began to unscrew the flints from their pistols and to jam the peasants' thumbs into them, and to torture the poor lads as if they had been witches. Indeed, one of the captives had already been pushed into the bread

oven and a fire lit under him, although he had confessed nothing. They put a sling around the head of another, twisting it tight with a piece of wood until the blood spurted from his mouth, nose, and ears. In short, each had his own device for torturing the peasants, and each peasant received his individual torture. My Dad was of all of them the luckiest—as I then thought—for he confessed laughingly what was extracted from others with torment and pitiful moans. They put him near a fire, bound him so that he could move neither hand nor foot, rubbed the soles of his feet with damp salt, and then made our old goat lick it off, tickling him till he well-nigh split his sides with laughter. This seemed to me so diverting and engaging (never before having seen my Dad indulge in such prolonged laughter) that, to keep him company or because I knew no better, I joined in his merriment with all my heart. With shrieks of laughter he confessed his guilt and revealed his hidden treasure, which contained far more gold, pearls, and jewels than you would ever have looked for in a peasant's home. Of the captured women, girls, and maidservants I have nothing in particular to tell, for the warriors would not let me see what they did with them. But this I do know: that from time to time one could hear pitiful screams coming from different parts of the house, and I don't suppose my Mum or Ursula fared any better than the others. In the midst of all this misery I turned the spit unconcernedly, not realizing fully what was happening. In the afternoon I helped to water the horses, which brought me to the stables where our maid was lying so strangely dishevelled that I did not recognize her. She, however, called to me faintly, saying: 'Run away, boy, or the horsemen will take you with them. Try to get away, for you see how miserably. . . .' and here her voice failed her. . . .

2. THE DESTRUCTION OF MAGDEBURG, 1631 (2)

So then General Pappenheim collected a number of his people on the ramparts by the New Town, and brought them from there into the streets of the city. Von Falckenberg was shot, and fires were kindled in different quarters; then indeed it was all over with the city, and further resistance was useless. Nevertheless some of the soldiers and citizens did try to make a stand here and there, but the imperial troops kept bringing on more and more forces—cavalry, too—to help them, and finally they got the Kröckenthor [a city gate] open and let in the whole imperial army and the forces of the Catholic League,—Hungarians, Croats, Poles, Walloons, Italians, Spaniards, French, North and South Germans.

Thus it came about that the city and all its inhabitants fell into the hands of the enemy, whose violence and cruelty were due in part to their common hatred of the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and in part to their being embittered by the chain shot which had been fired at them and by the derision and insults that the Magdeburgers had heaped upon them from the ramparts.

Then was there naught but beating and burning, plundering, torture, and

murder. Most especially was every one of the enemy bent on securing much booty. When a marauding party entered a house, if its master had anything to give he might thereby purchase respite and protection for himself and his family till the next man, who also wanted something, should come along. It was only when everything had been brought forth and there was nothing left to give that the real trouble commenced. Then, what with blows and threats of shooting, stabbing, and hanging, the poor people were so terrified that if they had had anything left they would have brought it forth if it had been buried in the earth or hidden away in a thousand castles. In this frenzied rage, the great and splendid city that had stood like a fair princess in the land was now, in its hour of direst need and unutterable distress and woe, given over to the flames, and thousands of innocent men, women, and children, in the midst of a horrible din of heartrending shrieks and cries, were tortured and put to death in so cruel and shameful a manner that no words would suffice to describe, nor no tears to bewail it. . . .

Thus in a single day this noble and famous city, the pride of the whole country, went up in fire and smoke; and the remnant of its citizens, with their wives and children, were taken prisoners and driven away by the enemy with a noise of weeping and wailing that could be heard from afar, while the cinders and ashes from the town were carried by the wind to Wanzleben, Egeln, and still more distant places. . . .

In addition to all this, quantities of sumptuous and irreplaceable house furnishings and movable property of all kinds, such as books, manuscripts, paintings, memorials of all sorts, . . . which money could not buy, were either burned or carried away by the soldiers as booty. The most magnificent garments, hangings, silk stuffs, gold and silver lace, linen of all sorts, and other household goods were bought by the army sutlers for a mere song and peddled about by the cart load all through the archbishopric of Magdeburg and in Anhalt and Brunswick. Gold chains and rings, jewels, and every kind of gold and silver utensils were to be bought from the common soldiers for a tenth of their real value. . . .

B. The Swedish Phase

Space does not permit a detailed examination of the complex political strategies and involved military campaigns of the Thirty Years' War. The following documents deal with its third phase, 1630–1635, during which Sweden invaded Germany and successfully championed the Protestant cause.

The military prowess of Wallenstein, the Catholic commander, had brought decisive defeat to the Protestant forces by 1629. Emperor Ferdinand II utilized his victory to issue an Edict of Restitution, the first document, that reconfirmed the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 (thus continuing to exclude Calvinists from religious and legal equality in Germany) and ordered the restoration of all church lands confiscated by Protestant princes since 1552. Imperial forces were stationed along the German Baltic coast, and the Duchy of Mecklenburg was taken from its Protestant ruler and transferred to Wallenstein, who had further

been given the ominous title of "General of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas." One result of these actions can be seen in the second selection, in the complaints of the Protestant Duke of Pomerania, whose state abutted the Baltic. Another was the Swedish invasion in July, 1630. The documents in the third selection focus on the reasons given by Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632) for his entry into the war. In the last selection Cardinal Richelieu describes the French interest in the war. Richelieu's Testament Politique *was written for Louis XIII in the form of a review of his administration of foreign and domestic policy.*

—In what way was the Edict of Restitution as much a political as a religious document?
—What can explain the imperial policy in Pomerania? Do the complaints of the duke lend credence to Richelieu's opening statement about the Duke of Bavaria?
—Why did Gustavus Adolphus enter the war?
—Why did Catholic France conclude a treaty of assistance with Protestant Sweden? Does Richelieu's explanation of the Treaty of Bärwalde seem valid?
—What did Richelieu consider the objective of the war?

1. THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION, 1629 (3)

We are determined for the realisation both of the religious and profane peace to despatch our imperial commissioners into the Empire; to reclaim all the archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelacies, monasteries, hospitals and endowments which the Catholics had possessed at the time of the treaty of Passau [1552] and of which they have been illegally deprived; and to put into all these Catholic foundations duly qualified persons so that each may get his proper due. We herewith declare that the religious peace [1555] refers only to the Augsburg Confession as it was submitted to our Ancestor Emperor Charles Vth on the twenty-fifth of June 1530; and that all other doctrines and sects, whatever names they may have, not included in the Peace are forbidden and cannot be tolerated. We therefore command to all and everybody under punishment of the religious and the land ban that they shall at once cease opposing our ordinance and carry it out in their lands and territories and also assist our commissioners. Such as hold the archbishoprics and bishoprics, prelacies, monasteries, hospitals &c., shall forthwith return them to our imperial commissioners with all their appurtenances. Should they not carry out this behest they will not only expose themselves to the imperial ban and to the immediate loss of all their privileges and rights without any further sentence on commendation, but to the inevitable real execution of that order.

2. THE DUKE OF POMERANIA COMPLAINS TO EMPEROR FERDINAND, 1630 (4)

The duke of Pomerania doubts not that your Imperial Majesty has in remembrance how he has at divers times protested against the unheard-of and unspeakable hardships and extortions which have now for almost three years

been practiced upon him and his subjects by the troops quartered in the land, and which still continue unabated; whereof he once more most earnestly complains, and humbly begs for relief. The burden has now become so great that he can bear it no longer.

According to the decisions and decrees of the imperial diet, he is under no obligation to support an army by himself and bear unaided a burden that should be divided among all the members of the empire. Nevertheless, for almost three years past, he has had to maintain within his dukedom and other territories over a hundred companies of your Imperial Majesty's army, besides sending supplies to outside points, and having the soldiery continually marching about the country. The outlay in the principality of Stettin alone amounts to fully ten million gulden; this can be verified at any time.

Worst of all are the vexatious means used in collecting these monthly contributions from our officials and subjects. A new and unheard-of *modus extorquendi* has been invented, such as was never before practiced by honest soldiers quartered in a friendly land; and the exactions are carried out with such rigorous excess under the officers in charge that the miserable victims can scarce keep shirts on their backs. And what insolent excesses and willful interference with church services, despoiling of churches, violation of graves of the dead, infringements of every sort of our sovereignty and authority, disarming of our subjects and curtailing of our revenue as ruler! This last has actually gone so far that it is impossible for us, from all the length and breadth of our land, to maintain a table befitting our princely rank; whereas every captain, out of his own district alone, lives in more than princely style and sends away large sums besides. Toward the poor people they are barbarous and tyrannical beyond words, beating, burning, and plundering, and depriving them of the very necessities of existence, till they are in danger of soul as well as body, for they are driven to such unnatural and inhuman food as buds of trees and grass, and even to the flesh of their own children and of dead bodies.

3. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS EXPLAINS WHY HE ENTERED THE WAR (5)

I.

TO THE SWEDISH PEOPLE, 1629

Denmark is used up. The Papists are on the Baltic, they have Rostock, Wismar, Stettin, Wolgast, Greifswald, and nearly all the other ports in their hands; Rügen is theirs, and from Rügen they continue to threaten Stralsund; their whole aim is to destroy Swedish commerce, and soon to plant a foot on the Southern shores of our Fatherland. Sweden is in danger from the power of Habsburg; that is all, but it is enough; that power must be met, swiftly and strongly. The times are bad; the danger is great. It is no time to ask whether the cost will not be far beyond what we can bear. The fight will be for parents, for wife and child, for house and home, for Fatherland and Faith.

II.

TO THE PEOPLE OF BRANDENBURG, 1630

[The King landed in Pomerania and evicted the Catholic forces. To the south lay Brandenburg, whose Protestant ruler desperately but unsuccessfully tried to remain neutral in this new phase of a war that had already damaged his lands.]

I have come hither for no other reason than to save the poor oppressed Estates and their subjects from the terrible tryranny and oppression of those thieves and robbers who have tormented them hitherto and to help the Elector escape a like fate. Does he not know that the Emperor and his friends are resolved to go on until the Evangelical religion in the Empire is completely rooted out, and that his fate will be to be forced either to deny his religion or to quit his countries? . . . For God's sake take resolves worthy of men. I cannot go back: the die is cast: we have crossed the Rubicon. I am seeking no profit for myself except the safety of my realm. Else have I only expenses, toil and peril. They gave me cause enough by twice sending help to my foes in Prussia, and designing to seize the Baltic ports. . . . Let the Elector cease to be the Emperor's servant in his own countries; who makes himself a sheep, him the wolf devours. . . . I will not hear of neutrality: the Elector must be friend or Foe. . . . God is fighting with the devil. If the Elector will hold to God let him join me; if the devil, he will have to contend with me; no third course will be allowed.

III.

TO EMPEROR FERDINAND II, 1630

We have received your letter at our Army at Rubenitz. Whereby we understand that your majesty seems greatly to wonder at our invasion into the Empire this past summer with our army. Also you impute the cause of this combustion of war wholly unto us.

We had not thought that your memory could so much have failed your majesty as to put in oblivion so many attempts lately undertaken against us. . . . In so much that you cannot accuse us to be the occasion or cause of the war enterprise. For necessity compels us to assure our own State at this present, and to wage battle and raise forces for our own surety and safety. . . .

Wherefore it must of necessity follow that we are excusable in this matter. This rather because we have made known in writing, on two occasions, as also declared through our ambassadors, both to the Electors of the Empire and your generals, that in case these intolerable injuries and enimical abuses did not cease nor were remedied, we should necessarily be constrained by other lawful means to disburden ourselves and insure ourselves and our estate. For it is easily to be guessed at, what your warlike preparations do tend to, even by your daily

enterprises. Also the Country of Pomerania and those provinces, by woeful experience can too well testify, by their excessive loss and suffering what may be expected from your proceeding. . . .

Besides all this, your own Army hath proclaimed us . . . open enemies, because they showed all manner of hostility and manifest enmity against us and ours. As for the present, true it is, you proffer us a treaty of peace (conditionally that we will abandon and lay down our arms) when as now the wound is grown incurable and the rent is torn so great that 'tis past mending. For now we cannot any longer esteem of these eminent dangers, as mere imaginations and fantasies, but must be sensible of real injuries, when as both by sea and land we are palpably assaulted and groan under these kind of grievances. Wherefore you shall excuse us, that we will no longer trust to your merely verbal promises, but our resolve is to entertain and keep our Armies in our own hands, so long till we shall be assured of a fair peace and faithful agreement.

If therefore in the meantime you shall resolve and deem fitting (as in your writing you do intimate) to afford all your endeavor and best aid and assistance toward the conducting of the Barque of Whole Christendom (which now a long time hath been tossed on the waves of war and turbulency) to the haven of peace and tranquility, and to that end enter in a Treaty of consonant agreement, you shall find us no way refractory, but in every kind most tractable and inclining to so desirable and wholesome expedition.

Add hereunto, that put the case, you will be pleased to restore and reestablish our respected friends, loving brothers-in-law, cousins, uncles, allies, neighbors, Peers and Estates of Germany, into the former state and constitution in which they were seated before the rising and combustion of this war began, that also furthermore, all injuries, damages, and losses which we so grieviously of late have sustained, may be reasonably considered and brought to a fair composition, then will we fully resolve to contract a Peace with you and all your near adjoining neighbors, and faithfully perform and keep the same. In the meanwhile, be you recommended to the Divine protection.

4. CARDINAL RICHELIEU DESCRIBES THE FRENCH INTEREST IN THE WAR (6)

At this time [1630] the dissatisfaction felt by the Duke of Bavaria—until then inseparably attached to the House of Austria—toward the Emperor and the Spaniards and the fear felt by the Electors, Catholic and Protestant alike, that they would lose their lands, as had many other princes in consequence of the Edict of Restitution, influenced them to seek [French] help in secret. Your Majesty negotiated with them so adroitly and so successfully that the election of [Ferdinand II's son as] king of the Romans* was prevented, although the Diet

* [Election as king of the Romans signified acceptance as heir-apparent of the Holy Roman Emperor.]

of Regensburg had been called together solely for this reason and the Emperor himself was present.

Then, to please Bavaria, to satisfy the Electors and other princes, and to strengthen their resolve to make the Catholic League independent—not of the Holy Roman Empire but of Spain, which was taking over the leadership of the League—your ambassadors opened a line of communication with the German princes that assisted their efforts to depose Wallenstein* from command of the Imperial army (a fact that helped no little bit in slowing down the affairs of his master). The influence of your Majesty was no less effective in the north, where, almost at the same time, [the French representative] had managed to induce the kings of Poland and Sweden to end the war between them [1629], a peace which had been vainly sought by many other rulers.

This peace permitted the enterprise which shortly thereafter the king of Sweden undertook to prevent the oppression of the princes of the Empire in Germany. This plan was no sooner known to your Majesty than, in order to prevent any disadvantage to the Catholic religion, you concluded a treaty with the king†, that obliged him not to interfere with the practice of this religion in any of the areas he might conquer.

I know that your enemies, hoping to justify their actions by criticizing yours, have overlooked nothing in trying to make this agreement seem odious. But the only effect of their design has been to reveal their malice. The innocence of your Majesty is even more obvious since the French ambassador did not enter into any treaty with the conqueror until six months after the latter had invaded Germany. This easily proves that the treaties made with the king were the remedy for the troubles [caused to Catholics] and cannot be considered their origin.

The treaties concluded not only with this great king but with many other princes of Germany were the more justified in that they were absolutely necessary . . . for the security of all of Italy, where the Spaniards considered that their needs made a take-over sufficiently legitimate‡. The civil disturbances this country has undergone as a result of the division openly stirred up in the Royal Household by the Spaniards obliged your Majesty to resort to expedients of this sort. . . .

If it was singularly wise to have kept the forces of the enemies of your State occupied by those of your allies for ten years by expending French money instead of French blood, it was an act of combined courage and wisdom to have entered into open war when your allies could no longer carry on alone [1635].

* [Wallenstein's great power and thinly disguised ambitions made him many enemies. The Electors temporarily forced his dismissal at Regensburg.]

† [The Treaty of Bärwalde was signed in January, 1631. In return for a sizeable French financial subsidy, Gustavus Adolphus promised to continue the war until the German princes had recovered their liberty but not to suppress the exercise of Catholicism in the lands he conquered.]

‡ [When the last duke of Mantua died in 1627, the Austrians and Spanish occupied the duchy to prevent the accession of a French heir. The Spanish and French fought indecisively in 1629 but the Swedish invasion of Germany turned the scales in France's favor.]

. . . [Participation in] the war in Germany was hardly avoidable, since this section of Europe was the theater of operations where the whole struggle had begun long ago. . . .

C. The Peace of Westphalia

Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the moment of his greatest victory, the defeat of Wallenstein at Lützen in 1632. Thereafter the Catholics gradually regained much of the ground they had lost; by 1635 Emperor Ferdinand was in strong enough a position to negotiate the Peace of Prague, signed by most of the German princes, which shelved the Edict of Restitution in return for the disbanding of existing alliances and all military forces except the imperial army. The terms of Prague remained a dead letter, however, for France, determined to prevent the strengthening of Habsburg power, declared war in the same year. The last phase of the war continued for thirteen exhausting years as French, Swedish, Danish, and Spanish armies laid waste to Germany. Peace overtures were initiated in 1643 but the final settlement was not agreed upon until 1648 and France continued to fight Spain until 1659. The Peace of Westphalia actually consisted of two treaties, one concluded between the Empire and Sweden at Osnabrück and the other with France at Münster. The first selection in this section contains excerpts from the treaty between the Empire and France. The second selection reflects the reaction of Pope Innocent X (1644–1655) to the ecclesiastical provisions of the peace.

—What issues were decided in the peace treaty?
—Why did the Pope object to the treaty? Was his position realistic?
—How close to the goals of the religious antagonists did the settlement come?

1. THE TREATY OF MÜNSTER, 1648 (7)

There shall be a Christian, general and lasting peace, and true and genuine amity, between his sacred Imperial Majesty and his sacred Most Christian Majesty, as also between each and all the allies and adherents of the said Imperial Majesty, the House of Austria, its heirs and successors, but chiefly the electors, princes and estates of the empire on the one hand; and each and all the allies and adherents of the said Most Christian Majesty, his heirs and successors, and primarily the most serene queen and the kingdom of Sweden, and respective electors, princes and estates of the empire, on the other. And this peace shall be so honestly and earnestly preserved and cultivated that . . . on all sides . . . true neighborly relations shall be resumed and the care of peace and amity shall flourish again. . . .

But to prevent in future any differences arising in political matters, all and every [one of] the electors, princes and estates of the Roman Empire shall in this treaty be confirmed and secured in all their rights, prerogatives, liberties,

privileges, in the free exercise of territorial rights both in ecclesiastical and in political matters, in their lordships and sovereign rights, and in the possession of all these; so that they never can or ought to be molested therein by anyone under any pretext whatsosever.

They shall enjoy without contradiction the right of suffrage in all deliberations concerning the affairs of the empire, especially when the business in hand touches the making or interpreting of laws, the declaring of war, levying of taxes, raising or maintenance of troops, the erection on imperial behalf of new fortresses or the garrisoning of old in the territories of the states, also the conclusion of peace or of alliances, or similar matters. In these and like concerns nothing is in future to be done or admitted except by the common free choice and consent of all the imperial states. But particularly the individual states shall be for ever at liberty to enjoy the right of making alliances with each other and with other parties for their own support and security; always provided that such alliances shall not be directed against the emperor or empire, nor against the public peace of the empire, not above all against the present treaty; and in everything without prejudice to the oath which everyone is bound to take to emperor and empire. . . .

The Religious Peace of 1555, as it was later confirmed . . . by various imperial diets, shall, in all its articles entered into and concluded by the unanimous consent of the emperor, electors, princes and estates of both religions, be confirmed and observed fully and without infringement. . . . In all matters there shall be an exact and mutual equality between all the electors, princes and states of either religion, as far as agrees with the constitution of the realm, the imperial decrees, and the present treaty; so that what is right for one side shall also be right for the other; all violence and other contrary proceedings being herewith between the two sides for ever prohibited. . . .

Whereas all immediate states enjoy, together with their territorial rights and sovereignty as hitherto used throughout the empire, also the right of reforming the practice of religion; and whereas in the Religious Peace the privilege of emigration was conceded to the subjects of such states if they dissented from the religion of their territorial lord; and whereas later, for the better preserving of greater concord among the states, it was agreed that no one should seduce another's subjects to his religion, or for that reason make any undertaking of defense or protection, or come to their aid for any reason; it is now agreed that all these be fully observed by the states of either religion, and that no state shall be hindered in the rights in matters of religion which belong to it by reason of its territorial independence and sovereignty. . . .

It is agreed by the unanimous consent of His Imperial Majesty and all the estates of the empire that whatever rights and benefits are conferred upon the states and subjects attached to the Catholic and Augsburg [Lutheran] faiths, either by the constitutions of the empire, or by the Religious Peace and this public treaty, . . . shall also apply to those who are called reformed [Calvinist]. . . . Beyond the religions mentioned above, none shall be received or tolerated in the Holy Roman Empire.

2. POPE INNOCENT X DENOUNCES THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT (8)

Consumed by zeal for the house of the Lord, we are especially concerned with the endeavor everywhere to maintain the integrity of the orthodox faith and the authority of the Catholic Church, so that the ecclesiastical rights of which we have been appointed guardian by our Saviour shall not in any way be impaired by those who seek their own interest rather than God's, and that we may not be accused of negligence when we shall render account to the Sovereign Judge. Accordingly it is not without deep pain that we have learned that by several articles in the peace concluded . . . at Münster in Westphalia on the twenty-fourth day of October of this same year 1648, between the same Ferdinand, king of the Romans, etc., and our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Louis, the very Christian king of the French, his allies and adherents, great prejudice has been done to the Catholic religion, the divine service, the Roman apostolic see, the ecclesiastical order, their jurisdictions, authority, immunities, liberties, exemptions, privileges, possessions, and rights; since by various articles in one of these treaties of peace the ecclesiastical possessions which the heretics formerly seized are abandoned to them and to their successors, and the heretics, called those of the Augsburg Confession, are permitted the free exercise of their heresy in various districts. They are promised places in which they may build temples for their worship and are admitted with the Catholics to public offices and positions. . . .

We assert and declare by these presents that all the said articles in one or both of the said treaties which in any way impair or prejudice in the slightest degree, or that can be said, alleged, understood, or imagined to be able in any way to injure or to have injured the Catholic religion, divine worship, the salvation of souls, the said Roman apostolic see, the inferior churches, the ecclesiastical order or estate, their persons, affairs, possessions, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, liberties, privileges, prerogatives, and rights whatsoever,—all such provisions have been, and are of right and shall perpetually be, null and void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, rejected, frivolous, without force or effect, and no one is to observe them, even when they be ratified by oath. . . .

Given at Rome in Santa Maria Maggiore, under seal of the fisherman's ring, November 26th of the year 1648, and of our pontificate the fifth.

D. The Nature of the War

Opinions have differed widely on the causes and nature of the Thirty Years' War. In this section four eminent historians present their views of the issues at stake. Carl Friedrich, Hajo Holborn, and S.H. Steinberg were born in Germany but have spent the majority of their professional lives in the United States and Great Britain. C.V. Wedgwood is English.

—How does each historian see the relationship between religious and political causation?
—In giving their analyses of what kind of war it was, do the historians differ on matters of substance or merely of degree?
—Do you agree that the war was "meaningless"?

1. FRIEDRICH: A WAR OF RELIGION (9)

It has been the fashion to minimize the religious aspect of the great wars which raged in the heart of Europe, over the territory of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Not only the calculating statecraft of Richelieu and Mazarin, but even Pope Urban VIII's own insistence lent support to such a view in a later age which had come to look upon religion and politics as fairly well separated fields of thought and action. Liberal historians found it difficult to perceive that for baroque man religion and politics were cut from the same cloth, indeed that the most intensely political issues were precisely the religious ones. Gone was the neopaganism of the renaissance, with its preoccupation with self-fulfillment here and now. Once again, and for the last time, life was seen as meaningful in religious, even theological, terms, and the greater insight into power which the renaissance had brought served merely to deepen the political passion brought to the struggle over religious faiths.

Without a full appreciation of the impossibility of separating secular and religious issues, it becomes impossible to comprehend the Thirty Years' War. Frederick the unlucky Palatine, as well as Ferdinand, Tilly and Gustavus Adolphus, Maximilian of Bavaria and John George of Saxony, they all must be considered fools unless their religious motivation is understood as the quintessential core of their politics. Time and again, they appear to have done the "wrong thing," if their actions are viewed in a strictly secular perspective. To be sure, men became increasingly sophisticated as the war dragged on; but even after peace was finally concluded in 1648, the religious controversies continued. Ever since the Diet of Augsburg (1555) had proclaimed the startling doctrine that a man must confess the religion of those who had authority over the territory he lived in, "*cujus regio, ejus religio,*" the intimate tie of religion and government had been the basis of the Holy Empire's tenuous peace. Born of the spirit of its time—Lutheran otherworldliness combining with Humanist indifferentism—this doctrine was no more than an unstable compromise between Catholics and Lutherans, the Calvinists being entirely outside its protective sphere. But in the seventeenth century not only the Calvinists, who by 1618 had become the fighting protagonists of Protestantism, but likewise the more ardent Catholics, inspired by the Council of Trent, by the Jesuits and Capuchins, backed by the power of Spain and filled with the ardor of the Counter Reformation, had come to look upon this doctrine as wicked and contrary to their deepest convictions.

When Ferdinand, after claiming the crown of Bohemia by heredity, proceeded to push the work of counter reformation, his strongest motivation was religious; so was the resistance offered by the Bohemian people, as well as Frederick's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia on the basis of an election.

Dynastic and national sentiments played their part, surely, but they reinforced the basic religious urge. The same concurrence of religious with dynastic, political, even economic motives persisted throughout the protracted struggle, but the religious did not cease to be the all-pervasive feeling; baroque man, far from being bothered by the contradictions, experienced these polarities as inescapable.

If religion played a vital role in persuading Ferdinand II to dismiss his victorious general, it was even more decisive in inspiring Gustavus Adolphus to enter the war against both the emperor and the League. The nineteenth century, incapable of feeling the religious passions which stirred baroque humanity and much impressed with the solidified national states which the seventeenth century bequeathed to posterity, was prone to magnify the dynastic and often Machiavellian policies adopted by rulers who professed to be deeply religious, and the twentieth century has largely followed suit in denying the religious character of these wars. But it is precisely this capacity to regard the statesman as the champion of religion, to live and act the dramas of man's dual dependence upon faith and power that constituted the quintessence of the baroque. The Jesuits, sponsors of the baroque style in architecture all over central and southern Europe, advised Catholic rulers, but more especially Ferdinand II, concerning their dual duties. The somber and passionate driving force behind so much unscrupulousness was religious pathos in all its depth. What the Catholics did elicited a corresponding pattern of thought and action in the Protestant world: Maurice of Nassau and James I, Gustavus Adolphus and Cromwell, as well as many minor figures of the European theater, conceived of themselves as guardians of the "secrets of rule," the *arcana imperii,* to be employed for the greater glory of God and the Christian religion. . . .

2. HOLBORN: AN ESSENTIALLY SECULAR STRUGGLE (10)

It was not a conflict among European powers, not even an acute controversy between the emperor and the princes of the Empire or among these princes themselves that led to the outbreak of the long war that lived on in the memory of the German people as the "Great War" and in the books of the historians as the Thirty Years' War. Rather, it was a struggle between the estates and the monarchy in the territories of the Habsburg dynasty which set fire to all of Germany and to the European continent. Without the grave crisis in the constitutional life of the Empire, the weakness of the German states, and the ambitions of the great powers of Europe, the events that occurred in Bohemia could not have developed into a disaster from which Germany was to emerge crippled and mutilated.

It is difficult to determine to what extent differences in the interpretation of the Christian faith were a direct cause of the catastrophe. There is no doubt but that religious motivation was strong in the lives of individuals and societies, and even in relations among states and nations, in this age. But the confessional war started at a time when enthusiasm for the religious revivals, both Protestant

and Catholic, had lost much of its original force and religious ideas had again become conventionalized. Frank skepticism was rare in Germany, but ever larger groups of people had ceased to find in religious ideals the full satisfaction of their human aspirations. Nevertheless, the reality of heaven and hell was nowhere questioned, nor was the necessity of basing the political and social order on principles that would keep Satan from undoing the work of God. Religious zeal found expression not only in the ghastly fury of witch trials, which reached its climax during these years, but also in the care with which all governments attended to the direction of church life in their dominions. Yet while on the one hand religion deteriorated into superstition, on the other it tended to become formalized and to lose genuineness. Every political action was publicly cloaked in religious terms, but religion seems to be used more and more to rationalize actions motivated by secular interest. Under the general cover of Christian orthodoxy there came to be a separation of religion and politics. . . .

3. S.H. STEINBERG: A MATTER OF POWER (11)

The usual picture of the Thirty Years' War, as painted by German historians and accepted uncritically by most English and American scholars, can be summarized as follows: (1) the war was one continuous struggle, fought almost exclusively on German soil, beginning with the Bohemian Revolt in 1618 and ending with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; (2) it was the last and greatest of the Wars of Religion kindled by the German and Swiss Reformation of the 1520s, which the non-German powers, namely Denmark, Sweden, and France, together with the half-Spanish Habsburgs, exploited for political ends of their own; (3) it completely destroyed the German economy, leaving behind an impoverished near-desert which had lost one-third, one-half, or even two-thirds of its population; and (4) it dealt a mortal blow to the intellectual, moral, and artistic life of Germany.

Every one of these assertions can be challenged.

First, there was not one uninterrupted war, but about a dozen wars, fought at different times, in different parts of Europe, by different belligerents, for different aims, interrupted by years of truce or peace affecting different regions.

Second, the religious differences between the German Protestants and Catholics were indissolubly bound up with constitutional and political questions. While it is impossible to assess the ratio of religious, political, constitutional, and economic considerations which determined any particular move, religious questions, more often than not, merely provided ideological and propagandist grounds for very secular war aims and peace proposals. The involvement of non-German powers was due to the geographical position of Germany in the heart of Europe and to a number of factors which would have remained even if there had been no religious conflict. The head of the Austrian Habsburgs, for instance, king of Bohemia and of Hungary and ruler of his house's ancient patrimony on the Danube, in the Alps, and on the Upper Rhine . . . was also Holy Roman em-

peror, nominal sovereign over the whole *Reich* or empire, that is, over all the other German princes; and the German princes were anxious to resist any expansion of his authority. The emperor's Spanish Habsburg cousins, at the same time, to whom he was closely bound by family ties, were nominally members of the empire insofar as they held Franche-Comté and the Netherlands (though the northern Netherlands had been in open revolt against Spain since 1572); and Spain was furthermore in dispute with France over certain Italian principalities over which the emperor was nominally overlord. The king of Denmark likewise was a member of the empire in his capacity as duke of Holstein and, eventually, as director of the Lower Saxon "Circle" of the empire. The Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, electors of the empire, were vassals not only of Bohemia for certain fiefs in Silesia but also of Poland for their Duchy of Prussia. Finally, Sweden's Baltic policy led to encroachment on the Pomeranian part of the empire. These and other dynastic or territorial questions provided reasons or pretexts for German princes to call in foreign powers as well as for foreign powers to take sides in German or so-called German affairs.

Finally, the social, economic, and cultural impacts have been misinterpreted. Seen in their true perspective, they will be found on a par with the results of every war. . . .

The European struggle against the predominance of Spain is the main topic of all the hot and cold wars, diplomatic moves and alignments, religious and constitutional tensions which fill the history of the first half of the 17th century. The Thirty Years' War, so called, is merely a segment of this general upheaval. The result, in the peace treaties of Westphalia and of the Pyrenees, can be summed up as follows.

In the field of international as well as of German politics, the sovereignty and independence of the individual state was established as the principle on which henceforth the European comity of nations and, in the narrower German context, the framework of the Holy Roman Empire were to be based. For Germany this structure survived, with modifications (notably in the Napoleonic period), until the foundation of the German Empire under Prussian hegemony in 1871; and for Western Europe the principle was maintained into the second half of the 20th century. The medieval conception of the theoretical unity of the *respublica Christiana* with the Roman emperor and the Roman pope as its temporal and spiritual heads was formally abandoned in favour of a community of sovereign, independent states, of equal status, regardless of form of government or confession of faith, though united by a common adherence to certain fundamental principles of law and order. This was a first, tentative step toward a European community, in which, however, Great Britain and Russia were not included.

4. C.V. WEDGWOOD: A MEANINGLESS CONFLICT (12)

The Peace [of Westphalia] has been described as marking an epoch in European history, and it is commonly taken to do so. It is supposed to divide

the period of religious wars from that of national wars, the ideological wars from the wars of mere aggression. But the demarcation is as artificial as such arbitrary divisions commonly are. Aggression, dynastic ambition and fanaticism are all alike present in the hazy background behind the actual reality of the war, and the last of the wars of religion merged insensibly into the pseudo-national wars of the future.

At Lissa in Poland the Bohemian Protestant exile Comenius wrote: 'They have sacrificed us at the treaties of Osnabrück . . . I conjure you by the wounds of Christ, that you do not forsake us who are persecuted for the sake of Christ.' From the Vatican, Innocent X solemnly condemned the peace as 'null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all time.' After thirty years of fighting the extreme Catholics and the extreme Protestants were left still unsatisfied. Both Ferdinand and Christina [of Sweden] had to prohibit their clergy from publicly condemning the peace, and the Bull issued with all the prestige of the Vatican was as ineffective in practical politics as the appeal of the exiled Bohemian.

After the expenditure of so much human life to so little purpose, men might have grasped the essential futility of putting the beliefs of the mind to the judgment of the sword. Instead, they rejected religion as an object to fight for and found others.

As there was no compulsion towards a conflict which, in despite of the apparent bitterness of parties, took so long to engage and needed so much assiduous blowing to fan the flame, so no right was vindicated by its ragged end. The war solved no problem. Its effects, both immediate and indirect, were either negative or disastrous. Morally subversive, economically destructive, socially degrading, confused in its causes, devious in its course, futile in its result, it is the outstanding example in European history of meaningless conflict. The overwhelming majority in Germany wanted no war; powerless and voiceless, there was no need even to persuade them that they did. The decision was made without thought of them. Yet of those who, one by one, let themselves be drawn into conflict, few were irresponsible and nearly all were genuinely anxious for an ultimate and better peace. Almost all—one excepts the King of Sweden—were actuated rather by fear than by lust of conquest or passion of faith. They wanted peace and they fought for thirty years to be sure of it. They did not learn then, and have not since, that war breeds only war.

Questions For Thought

Can politics and religion be prevented from interacting? Should they be? How separate were they in fifth-century Athens? In the Roman Empire? In the Middle Ages? How separate are they today?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen, *Adventures of a Simpleton,* trans. Walter Wallich (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963), pp. 7–9.

(2) James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston, 1906), II, 211–12.

(3) Emil Reich, ed., *Select Documents Illustrating Mediaeval and Modern History* (London: Staples Press Ltd., 1915), pp. 234–35.
(4) James Harvey Robinson, *op. cit.*, 205–07.
(5) The first two selections are from W. F. Reddaway, ed., *Select Documents of European History* (London: Methuen, 1930), II, 124–25; the last selection is from *A Relation of the King of Sweden, his happie and Incomparable Successe and Victories, against the forces of the Emperour, in Pomerania and the adjacent places, since Christmas last, with his Answer to the Emperours Letter, expressing the Cause of his undertaking the said Warre and his Resolution to continue the same, until Germany bee restored to his former Liberty* (London, 1631), pp. 2–4 (Text modernized).
(6) Cardinal Richelieu, *Testament Politique,* ed. Louis Andre (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1947), pp. 116–19, 134–35 (trans. LFS).
(7) G. R. Elton, ed., *Renaissance and Reformation, 1300–1648* (New York: Macmillan, 1963, pp. 239–41.
(8) James Harvey Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–16.
(9) Carl J. Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque, 1610–1660* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), pp. 161–63.
(10) Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (New York: Knopf, 1959), pp. 305–06.
(11) S. H. Steinberg, "Thirty Years War," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1967), XXI, 1050, 1061.
(12) C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), pp. 525–26.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Commercial Expansion: England, A Case Study

THE phase of European economic development known as the Commercial Revolution occurred in the years from the waning of the Middle Ages to the onset of the modern age, very roughly from 1450 to 1750. It was a period in which growing population, technological advances, deep-reaching political and social changes, and redirected religious emphases combined to inspire growing economic ferment. While few fundamental changes of method occurred in agriculture, which was still the occupation of most Europeans, many technological advances were made in industries such as textiles and mining. But it was in commerce that the winds of change blew strongest. New navigational devices and techniques made possible the great voyages of exploration of Columbus, da Gama, Magellan, and countless others. These voyages opened new vistas of economic opportunity. To convert these opportunities into wealth and power, Europeans expanded and improved their fleets, created new business and financial arrangements to meet the demand for increased capital, and adapted governmental policies to meet the challenge.

The nations along the Atlantic seaboard were most favorably situated to exploit the new opportunities and therefore led the surge of commercial expansion. Spain, Portugal, France, England, and the Netherlands all grasped eagerly at the chance to reap rich profits and to extend national influence into remote corners of the world. In the pursuit of commerce merchants and statesmen found common ground. In each country merchants tried, with varying success, to

influence politics and to obtain governmental aid in establishing and extending their trade, while statesmen tried to strengthen national power by controlling and channelling commercial enterprise. The policy of economic nationalism that emerged came to be called mercantilism. It usually attempted to accumulate a surplus in the national treasury as a reservoir of economic and political power, to stimulate domestic industries and reduce dependence on foreign producers and shippers, to acquire colonies and exploit them for the benefit of the mother country, and in general to promote a favorable balance of trade. This last purpose entailed the exporting of goods of greater value than the goods that were imported and consumed; the favorable balance would then stimulate domestic production and employment. Of more importance to many (but not to all) mercantilists was the fact that a favorable balance would also cause gold and silver to flow in to pay for the difference in value. And a nation's stock of gold and silver was often believed to be the measure of national wealth and power, if only because bullion commanded all other commodities.

In the ruthless competition for overseas territories, sources of supply, and markets, Portugal and Spain, the early leaders, lost their initiative to the Netherlands, France, and England. The reasons why nations gained and lost in these struggles are many and complex. The decline of Spain's power in the sixteenth century can, for example, be attributed to diverse causes: to social standards that led the aristocratic ruling classes to scorn commercial pursuits as demeaning or to religious policies which led Philip II to attempt the restoration of Catholicism in Northern Europe at the cost of the riches that were flowing in from Mexican and Peruvian mines. And while the rise of tiny Holland to commercial preeminence rested partly on her fortunate location, it also owed something to the degree of influence exercised by merchants in national life. Some historians, furthermore, attribute much of the success that Holland (and England also) enjoyed to the development of a peculiar "Protestant ethic" which gave moral sanction to worldly success.

Since the commercial expansion of the age can be grasped most effectively by examining a concrete example of the working of such influences, England, the country that ultimately achieved supremacy in the commercial race, has been selected as a case study here. The following readings reveal, in their English setting, something of the attractions of expansion, the spirit of enterprise, the workings of mercantilism, and the complexities of growing capitalism. It was during these years of rapid commercial growth that Daniel Defoe wrote *Robinson Crusoe,* one of the world's great narratives of adventure. The mythical Crusoe led generations of readers into the distant and exotic world where lay opportunity as well as adventure. The extended excerpts from the novel show

him as a prototype of the entrepreneur, the bold individual in search of profitable opportunity.

In many ways, as the editorial notes indicate, English experience in the age of commercial expansion was like that of other seafaring nations of Western Europe. The student may apply general questions to the English case: What motivations pushed European commerce so far afield so rapidly? What changes in business and governmental practices did the process of expansion bring about? What geographical, military, intellectual, and social conditions served the ends desired by men of commerce and by the state?

A. The Spirit of Commercial Competition

England, an island kingdom, had long been a seafaring nation. But it was not until the sixteenth century that the merchant adventurers of London and Bristol, encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, began to take their ships to Baltic and Mediterranean ports. By 1581 the Levant Company, a private joint-stock company with royal financial backing, had pushed into the Turkish ports and had begun trading in an area that had previously been the preserve of Hanseatic and Venetian merchants. By the end of the sixteenth century English ships were venturing forth to challenge the Portuguese and Spanish as far west as the Spanish Main, off South America. Among contemporary observers, none were more qualified to describe commercial rivalry than the experienced members of the Venetian diplomatic corps, two of whose reports to the Doge and Senate are included below.

—How would techniques such as the English employed improve a nation's commercial position?

1. THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE DOGE AND SENATE: AUGUST, 1599 (1)

After waiting a long time for the Queen of England's present to the Sultan, they say that the ship (*Hector*), which is bringing it has at last passed the Dardanelles. It brings a cargo of woollen cloth and other high-class goods; and the letters patent confirming the English Agent here as Ambassador of the Queen. He is making preparations for the liveries of a numerous suite, and shows that he intends to live in a great state.

The Turks are much pleased with the arrival of this ship, as they consider it a confirmation of their alliance with England, which they consider is highly important for holding the King of Spain in check. The English, who know their advantage, will make all profit out of it, and will find a ready assent to all their demands, especially if they are accompanied by gifts, of which they are

very liberal. If the trade in woollen cloth especially makes way here, as is expected, on account of its excellence and its appearance, in which the Turks delight, the Venetian trade will receive a great blow. The English would open factories through the entire Turkish Empire, as I am told they have done in Syria and Alexandria, and will obtain any concessions they care to ask for.

2. THE VENETIAN SECRETARY IN LONDON TO THE DOGE AND SENATE: MARCH, 1603 (2)

. . . I must not omit to say that the English through their rapacity and cruelty have become odious to all nations. With Spain they are at open war, and are already plundering her and upsetting the India trade. They are continually robbing with violence the French, whom they encounter on the long stretches of open sea. They cannot sail at present to Poland and Prussia, because the Danish Straits are blocked against them. In Germany, at Hamburg, Lubeck, and other ports, for example, they are detested; because the German merchants still claim their ancient privileges of their exchange house in London, of which they were deprived by the Queen a few years ago, merely with the view to foster English and restrict foreign commerce. . . .

With the Flemish they have little accord on account of the Spanish War, but also for natural reasons; for the Flemish trade in the Levant has grown to such proportions that the English trade is considerably diminished. . . .

Then, inside the Straits of Gibraltar, how can the English be endured, seeing clearly that under the guise of merchants, they plunder in the very vitals of foreign dominions all the shipping they find? . . .

Hence both those who command, and those who execute, here in England, see quite clearly how great, how universal, and how just is the hatred which all nations, nay, all peoples, we might say, bear to the English, for they are the disturbers of the whole world.

And yet, with all this they not only do not take any steps to remedy the mischief, but in a certain sense they glory that the English name should become formidable just in this way. For whereas the Kings of England, down to Henry VII and Henry VIII were wont to keep up a fleet of one hundred ships in full pay as a defense, now the Queen's ships (in commission) do not amount to more than fifteen or sixteen, as her revenue cannot support a greater charge; and so the whole of the strength and repute of the nation rests on the vast numbers of small privateers, which are supported and increase to that dangerous extent which everyone recognizes; and to ensure this support, the privateers make the ministers partners in the profits, without the risk of a penny in the fitting out, but only a share in the prizes, which are adjudged by judges placed there by the ministers themselves.

B. The Regulation of Trade

By the middle of the seventeenth century the rulers of the rival European states, more and more influenced by the doctrines of mercantilism, began to increase their control over commerce and to multiply their regulations. In England the Tudor and Stuart governments were increasingly concerned with the regulation of commerce. In 1651, for example, a Navigation Act was passed that required that English ships be used to transport goods between the colonies and the mother country. After the Restoration in 1660 other navigation acts were passed by Parliament to reinforce the earlier legislation. Advisory committees composed of businessmen, colonial officials, and members of the Privy Council were appointed to check on the manner in which these acts of legislation were being carried out. These committees, however, met infrequently until William III in 1696 established a permanent Board of Trade, which subsequently set the pattern for colonial administration for the next century. The selections below illustrate these phases of governmental regulation. The first is a portion of the Navigation Act of 1663. The second contains excerpts from the Order in Council creating the Board of Trade.

—What effect might such legislation have on English commercial expansion?
—What tenets of mercantilism are reflected in these documents?

1. THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1663 (3)

. . . . .

V. And in regard his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, sale of English woolen and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them; and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves.

VI. Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, that from and after the five and twentieth day of March 1664, no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into any land, island, plantation, colony, territory, or place to his Majesty belonging . . . in Asia, Africa, or America . . . but what shall be *bona fide,* and without fraud, laden and shipped in England . . . ; and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners at least are English, and which shall be carried directly thence to the said islands,

lands, . . . and from no other place or places whatsoever; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding:

(2) under the penalty of the loss of all such commodities . . . as shall be imported into any of them from any other place whatsoever, by land or water; and if by water, of the ship or vessel also in which they were imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture, ammunition, and apparel; one third part to his Majesty, his heirs and successors; one third part to the governor of such land . . . into which such goods were imported . . . ; and the other third part to him or them who shall seize, inform, or sue for the same in any of his Majesty's courts . . . where the offense was committed. . . .

VIII. And for the better prevention of frauds, be it enacted . . . that every person or persons importing by land any goods or commodities whatsoever into any of the said lands . . . shall deliver to the governor . . . or to such officer as shall be by him thereunto authorized and appointed, within four and twenty hours after such importation, his and their names and surnames, and a true inventory and particular of all such goods or commodities;

(2) and no vessel coming to any such land . . . shall lade or unlade any goods or commodities whatsoever, until the master . . . of such vessel shall first have made known to the governor of such land . . . the arrival of the said vessel, with her name, and the name and surname of her master or commander, and have shown to him that she is an English built ship, or made good by producing such certificate, as abovesaid, that she is a vessel *bona fide* belonging to England . . . and navigated with an English master, and three fourths parts of the mariners at least Englishmen, and have delivered to such governor or other person or officer a true and perfect inventory or invoice of her lading, together with the place or places in which the said goods were laden or taken into the said ship or vessel. . . .

2. THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1696 (4)

Whereas we are extremely desirous that the trade of our kingdom of England, upon which the strength and riches thereof do in a great measure depend, should by all proper means be promoted and advanced; and whereas we are persuaded that nothing more will effectually contribute thereto than the appointing of knowing and fit persons to inspect and examine into the general trade of our said kingdom and the several parts thereof, and to inquire into the several matters and things hereinafter mentioned relating thereunto, with such powers and directions as are hereinafter specified and contained; know ye therefore that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in your discretions, abilities and integrities, have nominated, authorized and constituted, and do by these presents nominate, authorize and appoint the said Keeper of our Great Seal or Chancellor for the time being, . . . [16 names] to be our commissioners, during our royal pleasure, for promoting the trade of this our kingdom and for inspecting and improving our plantations in America and elsewhere. . . .

And we do by these presents authorize and empower you our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, to inquire, examine into, and take an account of, the state and condition of the general trade of England, and also of the several particular trades in all foreign parts, and how the same respectively are advanced or decayed and the causes or occasions thereof; and to inquire into and examine what trades are or may prove hurtful, or are or may be made beneficial, to our kingdom of England, and by what ways and means the profitable and advantageous trades may be more improved and extended, and such as are hurtful and prejudicial rectified or discouraged; and to inquire into the several obstructions of trade and the means of removing the same, and also in what manner and in what proper methods the trade of our said kingdom may be most effectually protected and secured in all the parts thereof; and to consider by what means the several useful and profitable manufactures already settled in our said kingdom may be further improved, and how and in what manner new and profitable manufactures may be introduced. . . .

And our further will and pleasure is that you our said commissioners, or any five or more of you, do from time to time make representations touching the premises to us or to our Privy Council, as the nature of the business shall require, which said representations are to be in writing, and to be signed by five or more of you.

And we do hereby further empower and require you our said commissioners to take into your care all records, grants and papers remaining in the plantation office or thereto belonging; and likewise to inform yourselves of the present condition of our respective plantations, as well with regard to the administration of the government and justice in those places as in relation to the commerce thereof; and also to inquire into the limits, soil and product of our several plantations, and how the same may be improved, and of the best means for easing and securing our colonies there, and how the same may be rendered most useful and beneficial to our said kingdom of England. . . .

And we do hereby further authorize and empower you our said commissioners to examine into and weigh such Acts of the assemblies of the plantations respectively as shall from time to time be sent or transmitted hither for our approbation; and to set down and represent as aforesaid the usefulness or mischief thereof to our Crown, or to our said kingdom of England, or to the plantations themselves, in case the same should be established for laws there; and also to consider what matters may be recommended as fit to be passed in the assemblies there; to hear complaints of oppressions and maladministrations in our plantations in order to represent as aforesaid what you in your discretions shall think proper; and also to require an account of all moneys given for public uses by the assemblies in our plantations, and how the same are and have been expended or laid out. . . .

C. Colonial Propaganda

Another commercial stimulus was the lure of strange lands whose economic potentials were often visualized as without limit. To traders and investors they offered the exciting possibility of huge profits; to the state they promised enhancement of its power through an increasingly favorable balance of trade. By the end of the seventeenth century numerous pamphlets and propaganda tracts describing potentially fertile investment areas were circulating in Western Europe. One early English tract drawing attention to the economic value of the colonies was written in 1690 by Dalby Thomas, a merchant entrepreneur who was closely acquainted with trade with Virginia and the Indies.

—What does the tract reveal of the state of commercial activity in the West Indies by this time?

—What does it demonstrate about the role of colonies in mercantilism?

1. DALBY THOMAS: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES (5)

. . . I will presume to go on in explaining the right and wrong application of men's industry, as they respect in general the wealth and grandeur of the nation, or in particular the interest of our American colonies, in many of which I doubt not to demonstrate one labouringman is of more advantage to England, though out of it, than any thirty the like kind can be within it.

To explain which I will take a short view of our sugar-plantations and the nature of that trade, to whose particular advantage and interest after the kingdom's I principally sacrifice my present pains.

I therefore, with all submissiveness imaginable, desire our legislators to consider:

1. That the greatest consumption of sugar is made by themselves and the rest of the rich and opulent people of the nation, though useful to all degrees of men.

2. That the quantity of it yearly produced within those sugar colonies is not less than 45,000 tons English tonnage, each comprehending 20 [hundred weight] to the ton.

3. That about the moiety [half] of that is consumed in England.

4. That the medium of the value of consumed sugar at the present price current is 4d. a pound.

5. That the quantity consumed in the nation at that price amounts to 800,000 sterling, and upwards.

6. That the other moiety sent to foreign markets, after it has employed seamen and earned freight, is sold for as much, and consequently brings back to the nation in money or useful goods annually 800,000, which is more than any one other commodity doth.

7. Consider too, that before sugars were produced in our own colonies, it bore three times the price it doth now, so that by the same consumption, at the same price, except we made it ourselves, we should be forced to give in money or money's worth, as native commodities and labour, 2,400,000 for the sugar we spend, or be without it to such a degree of disadvantage of well-living, as that retrenchment would amount to. We must consider too, that the spirits arising from molasses which is sent from the sugar colonies to the other colonies and to England, which if all were sold in England, and turned into spirits, it would amount annually to above 500,000, at half the price the like quantity of brandy from France would cost; and will yearly increase as brandies are discouraged. . . .

The indigo coming thence amounts to 50,000 per annum.

The logwood for which we formerly paid the Spaniards 1000 per ton now comes under 15 and amounts to 1000 tons annually.

The cotton for which we paid formerly above 12d. per pound now comes at 5½d. per pound, and amounts to 1000 tons per annum, besides the hands it employs in manufacturing it.

The ginger amounts to 4000 tons per annum, and is not the sixth part in price of what the nation paid formerly for that commodity, or for pepper instead of it.

Not to speak of the many drugs, woods, cocoa, pimento, and spices, besides raw hides, &. which come from those parts, nor of the great quantity of the gold and silver we have of the Spaniards for negroes, and the English manufactory carried out by our sloops from our colonies to them.

So that it is demonstrated, the nation saves and gains by the people employed on those colonies 400,000,000 sterling per annum.

Now if it be considered that in all those sugar colonies there are not 600,000 white men, women and children, it necessarily must follow, that one with another, above what they consume, each of them earns for the public above 60 per annum. . . . from which it follows beyond controversy, that hands employed in the sugar-plantations are one with another of one hundred and thirty times the value to the commonwealth than those who stay at home.

To this I easily foresee will be readily objected, for want of consideration, that those there consume nothing of native commodities, which if they did as those do which stay at home, their consumption would amount to 3,900,000 annually, at 6.10s. per head, as aforesaid, and would consequently increase the rents at least a fourth of that.

But to this I must remind the reader that I have demonstrated that whatever is consumed by idle men can never increase either the real or imaginary wealth of the nation, and that nothing but the overplus or consumption can be reckoned additional wealth; which according to our reasonable computation cannot be above 2s. a head, one with another: so that if we would grant that those in the colonies did consume nothing of our home produce, the loss by want of them here would amount only to 1,200,000s. annually, which is 60,000.

But on the contrary, this is so far from being true, that, one with another, each white man, woman, and child, residing in the sugar plantations, occasions

the consumption of more of our native commodities and manufactures than ten at home do.

This cannot be doubted by those who will consider the great quantity of beef, pork, salt, fish, butter, cheese, corn, and flour, as well as beer, English mym, cider, and coals, constantly sent thither, of which commodities for the use of themselves or blacks, they have little or none of their own produce. Consider too that all their powder, cannon, swords, guns, pikes, and other weapons, their clothes, shoes, stockings, saddles, bridles, coaches, beds, chairs, stools, pictures, clocks, and watches; their pewter, brass, copper, and iron vessels, and instruments; their sail-cloth and cordage, of which in their buildings, shipping, mills, boiling and distilling houses, field-labour, and domestic uses, they consume infinite quantities, all which are made in and sent from England; not to speak of the great number of drudging and saddle-horses they take off, as well as of that sort of person who could in their youth be consumed in idleness, or worse at home, but there become useful to increase the nation's numbers and wealth both.

. . . For besides all the benefits demonstrably coming to the nation as aforesaid, they are in some kind maritime armies, ever ready not only to defend themselves but to punish the exorbitances, encroachments, piracies, and depredations of any insulting neighbouring nation; nor is it to be imagined in what awe those colonies rightly managed might keep our French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Brandenburg and Hamburg rivals, for wealth and maritime power, from entering into treaties, alliances, or undertakings to our disadvantage. . . .

D. Business Speculation

Claimed by Columbus for Spain, the rich Caribbean area was long eyed covetously by other Europeans. Under Queen Elizabeth English privateers attacked treasure ships along the so-called "Spanish Main." In the next century French buccaneers gained a permanent foothold on the major island of Hispaniola, the English seized Jamaica, and both, along with the Dutch and Danes, shared settlement of the Lesser Antilles island chain. Europeans, realizing the great promise of the region, became attracted to it as a source of speculation. Successful joint-stock business ventures like the Dutch and English East India Companies had already accustomed the public to widespread participation in overseas commercial enterprise. Such company promotion grew rapidly in the early eighteenth century and on occasion became involved in national financial policy. In France the Scots adventurer John Law founded the Banque Générale (1716) and organized the Company of the West (1717), for which he gained a monopoly of the Louisiana trade. Thousands of investors were enticed by his glowing promises and close connections with the French government until the massive inflation of stock prices and overissue of bank notes caused a disastrous collapse. In the reading below the economic historian Ephraim Lipson describes a similar crisis in England, the "South Sea Bubble" of 1720.

—What does the willingness of the public to take financial risk suggest about the degree of economic development in Europe in the early eighteenth century?
—How would this public attitude contribute to commercial expansion?

1. EPHRAIM LIPSON: THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY (6)

. . . The law of Spain excluded foreigners from trading with her colonies. To evade the prohibition, trade to the Spanish West Indies was conducted in the seventeenth century by English merchants residing at Cadiz, who sent out English goods in Spanish ships and under colour of Spanish names. There were three methods of trading. One was to send goods 'coloured' in the names of Spaniards: another was to sell goods to Spaniards, receiving payment upon the return of the galleons, the risks of the voyage being borne by the seller: and the third was to lend money to Spaniards who were to repay it only if the galleons came home safely. This system of indirect trade was handicapped by heavy duties imposed on commodities entering Spain—English goods paid 23 per cent plus an additional duty upon registration at Seville, and the goods brought back from the West Indies paid 4 to 8 per cent. A proposal for the erection of a company to trade direct with the Spanish West Indies had been mooted under James I, but it proved still-born. The War of the Spanish Succession afforded a favourable opportunity for its revival. The prospect of a French dynasty ruling in Spain brought to the front the problem of direct access to the Spanish dominions in America; while the financial difficulties created by the war made the solution of the problem a matter of interest to the Government. There was a large floating debt, and in accordance with the ideas of the time it was proposed to fund it by means of an expedient similar to that which had already brought into existence the Bank of England and the New East India Company. The State creditors were incorporated, under an Act of Parliament passed in 1710, in a joint-stock company upon which was conferred the monopoly of the English trade with the South Seas. The capital of the Company thus consisted of Government securities. Its position was strengthened by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) in which Spain conferred on England a limited right of trading with her colonies. The importance of the concession may easily be exaggerated: it did not create a new sphere of trade but diverted the existing trade, which passed through Spain, direct to Spanish America. As a consequence the trade with Spain suffered in spite of the establishment of English consuls in the Spanish ports, "a thing which it has been almost impossible to obtain hitherto." The concession was also detrimental to Jamaica, whose traders were now 'entirely excluded from the Spanish Indies' by the monopoly conferred upon the English Company.

The South Sea Company found that its limited opportunities of trade did not provide sufficient scope for the credit, which it was in a position to raise on the basis of its loan of ten million pounds to the Government. It offered, therefore, to convert the whole national debt into 'a single redeemable obligation' to the Company at a lower rate of interest in return for the monopoly of British foreign trade outside Europe. This proposal was successfully resisted by the Bank

of England and the East India Company, whose privileges rested on the loans which they had made to the State, and accordingly it was modified to exclude their loans. The Government accepted the scheme and a rapid rise ensued in the market value of the Company's shares, which the artifices of the directors endeavoured to keep high by an undertaking to pay an annual dividend for the next twelve years of not less than 50 per cent. On January 30, 1720, £100 stock could be bought for £129: on June 24, 1720, the price reached £1050. The national excitement found vent in an outburst of frantic speculation. The South Seas became the fashionable topic. Men hastened to borrow money to buy shares, and women sold their jewels. "I grow rich so fast," runs a letter of the day, "that I like stock-jobbing of all things." The fever spread rapidly. The projects for which subscriptions were invited numbered over two hundred, and included one with a great capital for an undertaking which was to be revealed in due time.

The South Sea Bubble was soon pricked. The Company, in order to discourage other competitors for the public favour, instigated the prosecution of companies which had no legal authorization, but its action recoiled upon itself. The new 'stocks' were soon reported to be 'dying like flies,' and their failure affected the credit of the South Sea Company itself. Shares fell even more rapidly than they had risen, and all who had bought beyond their means were ruined. "There never was such distraction and undoing in any country," wrote a contemporary.

All the riches that we boast
Consist in scraps of paper.

E. Robinson Crusoe: The Entrepreneurial Type

Among those people with more than a passing interest in the South Seas area was Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), the author of Robinson Crusoe. *As early as 1698 Defoe had tried to interest the king in a plan to establish a colony in the West Indies. Furthermore, there is evidence that on several later occasions he suggested the southern Caribbean area as a site for an English colony. In 1719 he publicly offered to supply the South Sea Company with detailed information about tides and rivers in the Orinoco region if the directors would authorize a colony there.*

Like the hero of his novel, Defoe was very much a self-made man. Born in London, the son of an obscure lower middle-class family—his father was apparently a butcher—Defoe's formal education never went beyond secondary schooling. As a youth he thought of becoming a Presbyterian minister but chose instead the life of a merchant and travelled widely in England and Western Europe. He became an astonishingly prolific author. His numerous writings included popular essays on political and religious subjects and successful novels.

The idea of a solitary exile on a remote island—like that of his hero Crusoe—was not original with Defoe. He was undoubtedly aware of the story of Alexander Selkirk, who in 1711 was brought back to England after four and a half years alone on one of the Juan Fernandez Islands off the coast of Chile. A vivid account of his adventures had been published in the following year by the man who rescued him, Captain Woodes Rogers. Further details of Selkirk's adventures appeared in an essay published the following year in The Spectator *by Richard Steele (of Sir Roger de Coverly papers' fame), who is supposed to have interviewed Selkirk in the coffee houses of London.*

Defoe's novel became a best-seller. There were four editions within the first four months of its publication in April, 1719. The following excerpts include portions from Crusoe's early life and the first months of his stay on the island.

—What accounted for the popularity of Robinson Crusoe in the England of 1719-1720?

—To what interest-groups would this story have appealed? Why can Crusoe be considered an entrepreneurial type?

—To what extent does his repeated self-analysis help to explain the spirit of commercial expansion?

1. THE STRANGE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE (7)

I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, tho not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good estate by merchandise, and leaving off his trade lived afterward at York, from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves and write our name, Crusoe, and so my companions always call'd me. . . .

Being the third son of the family and not bred to any trade, my head began to be fill'd very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house-education and a country free-school generally goes, and design'd me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea, and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and perswasions of my mother and other friends, that there seem'd to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befal me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He call'd me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject. He ask'd me what reasons more than a meer wandring inclination I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was

This map of the voyages of Robinson Crusoe is taken from an early printing of Defoe's novel (1722).

for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortune on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprize, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings of the mechanick part of mankind, and not embarass'd with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. . . .

[But Crusoe determines to go to sea.]

That evil influence which carryed me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of raising my fortune, and that imprest those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties and even command of my father; I say the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa; or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea. . . .

It was my lot first of all to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and unguided young fellows as I

then was; the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early; but it was not so with me. I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again; and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me if I wou'd go the voyage with him I should be at no expence; I should be his mess-mate and his companion, and if I could carry any thing with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit; and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement.

I embrac'd the offer, and entring into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain I increased very considerably; for I carried about 40£. in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40£. I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain, under whom also I got a competent knowledge of the mathematicks and the rules of navigation, learn'd how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor: for, as he took delight to introduce me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home 5 pounds 9 ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London at my return almost 300£., and this fill'd me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so compleated my ruin. . . .

I was now set up for a Guiney trader; and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again, and I embark'd in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made; for tho' I did not carry quite £100. of my new gain'd wealth, so that I had 200 left, and which I lodg'd with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage; and the first was this, *viz.*: Our ship making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised in the grey of the morning by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. . . . However, to cut short this melancholly part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men kill'd, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carry'd all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended, nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble and fit for his business. . . .

[After two years of captivity, Crusoe managed to steal his master's boat and escape southward along the coast of Africa, where he was rescued by a Portuguese ship and taken to Brazil.]

We had a very good voyage to the Brasils, and arriv'd in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All-Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more deliver'd from the most miserable of all conditions of life, and what to do next with my self I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lyon's skin which I had in my boat, and caused every thing I had in the ship to be punctually deliver'd me, and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, for I had made candles of the rest; in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock I went on shore in the Brasils.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an *ingenio* as they call it, that is, a plantation and a sugar-house, I lived with him some time, and acquainted my self by that means with the manner of their planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters liv'd, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolv'd, if I could get licence to settle there, I would turn planter among them, resolving in the mean time to find out some way to get my money which I had left in London remitted to me. To this purpose getting a kind of a letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncur'd as my money would reach, and form'd a plan for my plantation and settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England. . . .

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portugal captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and in what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means by some of the English merchants there, to send over not the order only, but a full account of my story to a merchant at London, who represented it effectually to her; whereupon she not only delivered the money, but out of her own pocket sent the Portugal captain a very handsom present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London, vesting this hundred pounds in English goods, such as the captain had writ for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me to the Brasils, among which, without my direction (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron-work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me. . . .

But as abus'd prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation. I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than

I had disposed of for necessaries among my neighbors; and these fifty rolls being each of above a 100 wt. were well cur'd and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon: and now increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach; such as are indeed often the ruine of the best heads in business. . . .

As I had once done thus in my breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I cast my self down again into the deepest gulph of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with life and a state of health in the world.

To come then by the just degrees to the particulars of this part of my story; you may suppose, that having now lived almost four years in the Brasils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learn'd the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvadore, which was our port; and that in my discourses among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissars, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only gold dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, &c., but negroes, for the service of the Brasils, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying negroes, which was a trade at that time not only not far entred into, but as far as it was, had been carried on by the assiento's, or permission of the kings of Spain and Portugal, and engross'd in the publick, so that few negroes were brought, and those excessive dear.

It happen'd, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of, the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and after enjoining me secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea, that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straiten'd for nothing so much as servants; that as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publickly sell the negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and in a word, the question was, whether I would go their super-cargo in the ship to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea. And they offer'd me that I should have my equal share of the negroes without providing any part of the stock.

This was a fair proposal, it must be confess'd, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was

in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pound from England, and who in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce ha' fail'd of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that encreasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be guilty of. . . .

But I was hurried on, and obey'd blindly the dictates of my fancy rather than my reason; and accordingly the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as by agreement, by my partners in the voyage, I went on board in an evil hour, the first of September, 1659, being the same day eight year that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest. . . .

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the Affrican coast, when they came about 10 or 12 degrees of northern latitude, which it seems was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came the height of Cape St. Augustino, from whence keeping farther off at sea we lost sight of land, and steer'd as if we was bound for the isle Fernand de Noronha, holding our course N.E. by N. and leaving those isles on the east; in this course we past the line in about 12 days' time, and were by our last observation in 7 degrees 22 min. northern latitude, when a violent tournado or hurricane took us quite out of our knowledge; it began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but drive, and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever fate and the fury of the winds directed; and during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor indeed did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men dyed of the calenture, and one man and the boy wash'd over board; about the 12th day the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found that he was in about 11 degrees north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustino; so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of Guinea, or the north part of Brasil, beyond the river Amozones, toward that of the river Oronoque, commonly call'd the Great River, and began to consult with me what course he should take, for the ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of Brasil.

I was positively against that, and looking over the charts of the seacoast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Carribbe-Islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes, which by keeping off at sea, to avoid the indraft of the bay or gulph of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail; whereas we could not possibly make our

voyage to the coast of Affrica without some assistance, both to our ship and to our selves. . . .

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men early in the morning cry'd out, "Land!" and we had no sooner run out of the cabbin to look out in hopes of seeing where abouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopp'd, the sea broke over her in such a manner that we expected we should all have perish'd immediately, and we were immediately driven into our close quarters to shelter us from the very foam and sprye of the sea.

The mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's-side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed our selves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea; for tho' the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadful high upon the shore, and might well be call'd *den wild zee,* as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we ha' done any thing with it: so we work'd at the oar towards the land, tho' with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dash'd in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hasten'd our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land. . . .

After we had row'd, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckon'd it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rowling a-stern of us, and plainly bad us expect the *coup de grace.* In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once; and separating us as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, O God! for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water; for tho' I swam very well, yet I could not deliver my self from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent it self, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half-dead with the water I took in. . . .

I was now landed and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was sav'd in a case wherein there was some minutes before scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the extasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so sav'd, as I may say, out of the very grave; and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz. that when a malefactor who has the halter about his neck, is tyed up, and just going to be turn'd off, and has a reprieve brought to him; I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him:

For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.

I walk'd about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapt up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drown'd, and that there should not be one soul sav'd but my self; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, when the breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off, and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore?

After I had solac'd my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done, and I soon found my comforts abate, and that in a word I had a dreadful deliverance: for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me, neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devour'd by wild beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend my self against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I run about like a mad-man. Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offer'd to my thoughts at that time was to get up into a thick bushy tree like a firr, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolv'd to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should dye, for as yet I saw no prospect of life; I walk'd about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavour'd to place my self so, as that if I should sleep I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging, and having been excessively fatigu'd, I fell fast asleep and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my condition, and found my self the most refresh'd with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I wak'd it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before: but that which surpris'd me most was that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tyde, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mention'd, where I had been so bruis'd by the dashing me against it; this being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wish'd my self on board, that, at least, I might save some necessary things for my use. . . .

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tyde ebb'd so far out that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief, for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board,

we had been all safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was; this forc'd tears from my eyes again, but as there was little relief in that, I resolv'd, if possible, to get to the ship, so I pull'd off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water, but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board, for as she lay a ground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spy'd a small piece of a rope, which I wonder'd I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains so low, as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope, got up into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulg'd, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water; by this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoil'd and what was free; and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouch'd by the water, and being very well dispos'd to eat, I went to the bread-room and fill'd my pockets with bisket, and eat it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose; I also found some rum in the great cabbin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish my self with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity rouz'd my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large sparrs of wood, and a spare top-mast or two in the ship; I resolv'd to fall to work with these, and I flung as many of them over board as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope that they might not drive away; when this was done I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I ty'd four of them fast together at both ends as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare top-mast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains; but hope of furnishing my self with necessaries encourag'd me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight; my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea, but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having consider'd well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and empty'd, and lower'd them down upon my raft; the first of these I fill'd with provision, viz. bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dry'd goat's flesh, which we liv'd much upon, and a little remainder of European corn which had been laid

by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were kill'd; there had been some barly and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoil'd it all; as for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and in all about five or six gallons of rack; these I stow'd by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor no room for them. . . .

My next care was for some ammunition and arms; there were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabbin, and two pistols; these I secur'd first, with some powder-horns, and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords; I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stow'd them, but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water; those two I got to my raft, with the arms; and now I thought my self pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, and the least cap full of wind would have overset all my navigation. . . .

[Crusoe returns frequently to the ship and takes away various items of use.]

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship; in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be suppos'd capable to bring, tho' I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship piece by piece. But preparing the 12th time to go on board, I found the wind begin to rise; however, at low water I went on board, and tho' I thought I had rumag'd the cabbin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discover'd a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large sizzers, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty six pounds' value in money, some European coin, some Brasil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smil'd to my self at the sight of this money. "O drug!" said I aloud, "what are thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off of the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap; I have no manner of use for thee, e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away. . . .

It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning when I look'd out, behold, no more ship was to be seen; I was a little surpriz'd, but recover'd my self with this satisfactory reflection, viz. that I had lost no time, nor abated no dilligence to get every thing out of her that could be useful to me, and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away if I had had more time.

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of any thing out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

My thoughts were now wholly employ'd about securing my self against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of

dwelling to make, whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth: and, in short, I resolv'd upon both, the manner and description of which it may not be improper to give an account of. . . .

I had a dismal prospect of my condition, for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, viz. some hundreds of leagues, out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that in this desolate place and in this desolate manner I should end my life; the tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections, and sometimes I would expostulate with my self, why Providence should thus compleatly ruine its creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandon'd, so entirely depress'd, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always return'd swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly one day walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason as it were expostulated with me t'other way, thus: Well, you are in a desolate condition, 'tis true, but pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat? where are the ten? Why were not they sav'd and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there? and then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them. . . .

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books and pen and ink, and should even forget the sabbath days from the working days; but to prevent this I cut it with my knife upon a large post, in capital letters, and making it into a great cross I set it up on the shore where I first landed, viz. "I come on shore here on the 30th of Sept. 1659." Upon the sides of this square post I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one, and thus I kept my kalender, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place we are to observe, that among the many things which I brought out of the ship in the several voyages, which, as above mention'd, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not at all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before; as in particular, pens, ink, and paper, several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping, three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation, all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no; also I found three very good Bibles which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had pack'd up among my things; some Portugueze books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secur'd. And I must not forget that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place; for I carry'd both the cats with me, and as for the dog, he jump'd out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore

with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years; I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me, I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that would not do. As I observ'd before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost, and I shall shew, that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact, but after that was gone I could not, for I could not make any ink by any means that I could devise. . . .

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstance I was reduc'd to, and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, for I was like to have but few heirs, as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort my self as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse, and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoy'd against the miseries I suffer'd thus:

EVIL	GOOD
I am cast upon a horrible desolate island, void of all hope of recovery.	But I am alive, and not drown'd as all my ship's company was.
I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world to be miserable.	But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.
I am divided from mankind, a solitaire, one banish'd from humane society.	But I am not starv'd and perishing on a barren place, affording no sustenance.
I have not cloaths to cover me.	But I am in a hot climate, where if I had clothes I could hardly wear them.
I am without any defence or means to resist any violence of man or beast.	But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa; and what if I had been shipwreck'd there?
I have no soul to speak to, or relieve me.	But God wonderfully sent the ship in near enough to the shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary things as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply my self even as long as I live.

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something negative or

something positive to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a direction from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort our selves from, and to set in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the accompt.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to see if I could spy a ship; I say, giving over these things, I began to apply my self to accomodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could. . . .

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematicks, so by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanick art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools; however, I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour. For example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be thin as a plank, and then dubb it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of the whole tree, but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board. But my time of labour was little worth, and so it was as well employ'd one way as another. . . .

Questions for Thought

What role did mercantilism play in commercial expansion? Did the spirit of commercial expansion depend to any extent on ideas generated by the Renaissance and Reformation? How valid is the use of a novel like *Robinson Crusoe* in trying to understand the background of an historical phenomenon such as commercial expansion? In what respect was Robinson Crusoe a "modern" man?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Horatio R. F. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, . . .* (London, 1897), IX, 371.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 557.
(3) *Statutes of the Realm,* V, 449 ff.
(4) *Acts of the Privy Council,* Colonial Series, II, p. 310.
(5) Dalby Thomas, "An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies and of the Great Advantages they are to England in Respect to Trade" (London, 1690), in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1810), IX, 403-45 *passim.*
(6) E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (5th ed., London, 1948), II, 367-69. Reprinted by permission of A & C Black, Ltd.
(7) Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (London, 1719), pp. 1-80, seriatim. (Text somewhat modernized).

CHAPTER EIGHT

From Tradition to Science

EDUCATED men in contemporary western societies generally believe that their physical and social environment can be usefully described as a set of orderly systems. The rules of the order can be discovered, the future behavior of the varied elements of the environment can be predicted with a great deal of certainty, and the systems can be manipulated. The adventurers who meet new challenges, who discover, predict, or manipulate experience in a fresh way, are the heroes of the modern world.

Most medieval Europeans would have thought this modern view of life and the universe both foolish and presumptuous. To them the world was a mystery; it was "too big" for man. Even if the universe had a higher order, it was, for all immediate purposes, capricious and unmanageable. New experiences were a source of anxiety. The anxiety was best avoided by staying close to home, shunning strangers, and clinging to the craft skills and the patterns of behavior one had learnt as a child. The anxiety generated by a new problem could be relieved by an appeal to tradition and traditional authority.

The weakening of this medieval view of the world and of the social system with which it was associated was everywhere apparent by the seventeenth century. Men whose families had for generations felt that they had not been allowed proper social respect bitterly attacked the social hierarchy. They frequently asserted that they owed allegiance only to God. Peasants and townspeople, benefiting from conflicts within the feudal elite, began to think more highly of themselves and to aspire to change their positions in life. New prob-

lems no longer generated the same fear. The call to exploration and invention was exhilarating.

Scientific inquiry, more than any other area, was touched by the winds of change. The development of mathematical skills illustrates both the rapidity of the scientific revolution and its international character. In 1600 Europeans still frequently used the awkward Roman numerical notation. Mathematical arguments were diffuse and rhetorical. The common algebraic notation of unknowns had only recently been introduced. Tables of trigonometric functions were clumsy to use. Within a century European mathematicians had prepared a new set of tools to handle the challenges of the physical sciences. John Napier in 1614 published a convenient table of logarithms. René Descartes in 1637 demonstrated that geometrical problems could be represented and treated algebraically. Isaac Newton in 1671 and Gottfried Leibnitz in 1684 published descriptions of methods of measuring acceleration and deceleration.

The development of new skills and the underlying change in attitudes toward innovation and experiment were exciting, but also troubling. Change in science, as in politics and religion, was accompanied by a full measure of inner anguish. As men altered their image of the universe and struggled to define the scientific method, they also altered their definition of man's relationship to Nature. While expanding man's personal power to deal with his environment, scientists seemed to be robbing him of the organic relationship to the world that religious faith had provided. Frequently beginning from a deep and abiding faith—indeed, attempting to use science to strengthen their religious convictions—they created a new and radical gulf between empirical issues and theology. With an intense pride in man's moral capabilities and sensitivity they developed a conception of the scientific method and of the universe that had no necessary relation to man's moral ideas or to his common-sense notions of the world.

Something, quite clearly, had been given up. "I perceive," a character in a seventeenth-century work on science began, "philosophy is now become very mechanical. 'So mechanical,' said I, 'that I fear we shall quickly be ashamed of it; they will have the world to be in great, what a watch is in little; which is very regular, & depends only upon the just disposing of the several parts of the movement. But pray tell me, Madam, had you not formerly a more sublime Idea of the Universe?' "

The readings which follow attempt to define the relationship between the scientific revolution and the more general shift in the world view of western men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To what extent did the development of new methods of inquiry in the natural sciences pose a challenge to traditional ethical and social concepts and institutions?

A. René Descartes: Skepticism and Tradition

The emotional crisis precipitated by a conflict of world-views is at the center of René Descartes' Discourse on Method, *which was published in France in 1637. Descartes' (1596-1650) most lasting contribution to science was the creation of analytical geometry. In his own day, however, he was the most influential theorist of science and the scientific method. His* Discourse *attempts to reconcile respect for traditional perceptions of the world with a profound skepticism and a belief in mathematics as the tool of universal understanding.*

The Discourse *begins with a description of the author's early education and his wanderings in Germany during the Thirty Years War. Descartes then goes on to explain the beginnings of his scientific reasoning, to define the role of observation in his analysis of the material world, and to defend his methods against logical attacks.*

—What was the significance of Descartes' emphasis on the value of a skeptical attitude?
—How radical a break with the deductive method of scholasticism did his method of investigation constitute?
—How did he define the scientific method?

1. DISCOURSE ON METHOD (1)

From my childhood I have been familiar with letters; and as I was given to believe that by their means a clear and assured knowledge can be acquired of all that is useful in life, I was extremely eager for instruction in them. As soon, however, as I had completed the course of study, at the close of which it is customary to be admitted into the order of the learned, I entirely changed my opinion. For I found myself entangled in so many doubts and errors that, as it seemed to me, the endeavour to instruct myself had served only to disclose to me more and more of my ignorance. And yet the School in which I was studying was one of the most celebrated in Europe, where I thought there must be men of learning, if such were anywhere to be found. I was taught all that others learned there, and not content with the sciences taught us, I glanced over all the books which fell into my hands treating of those esteemed most curious and rare. Moreover I knew the judgments that others had formed of me, and although there were among my contemporaries some already quite evidently destined to replace our teachers, I did not feel that I was esteemed inferior to them. And finally, our age appearing to me to be no less flourishing, and no less rich in men of ability than any of the preceding, I felt free to judge of all men whatsoever by myself, and so to conclude that there was no body of knowledge in the world of such worth as I had previously been led to expect.

I continued, however, to hold in esteem the exercises practised in the Schools, . . . there is no one of them, even of those most abounding in superstition and falsity, the acquaintance with which is not of some utility, if only as

enabling us to estimate it at its true value and to guard ourselves against being deceived by it. . . . Above all I delighted in mathematics because of the certainty and evidence of their reasonings. But I had not as yet discovered their true use; and believing that they contributed only to the mechanical arts, I was astonished that foundations so firm and solid should have nothing loftier erected upon them. On the other hand, in contrast to them, I pictured to myself the works of the ancient pagan moralists as being, as it were, palaces arrogantly magnificent, with no better foundations than sand and soft shifting ground. They place the virtues on a lofty pedestal, and exhibit them as being of value above all other things in the world, yet do not succeed in teaching how to know what they are. Often what they honour with that fine title is but insensibility, or pride, or despair, or parricide.

I revered our theology, and would be as desirous as anyone to reach heaven, but being reliably given to understand that the way to it is not less open to the most ignorant than to the most learned, and that the revealed truths which afford us guidance are above our powers of understanding, I did not dare to test them by the feebleness of my reasonings. I recognised that to enter on an examination of them, and to succeed in so doing, I should require to have some special help from above, and to be more than man.

As to philosophy, I shall say only this: that when I noted that it has been cultivated for many centuries by men of the most outstanding ability, and that none the less there is not a single thing of which it treats which is not still in dispute, and nothing, therefore, which is free from doubt, I was not so presuming as to expect that I should succeed where they had failed. When, further, I considered how many diverse opinions regarding one and the same matter are upheld by learned men, and that only one of all these opinions can be true, I accounted as well-nigh false all that is only probable. . . .

For these reasons, as soon as my age allowed of my passing from under the control of my teachers, I entirely abandoned the study of letters; and resolving to seek no other science than that which can be found in myself and in the great book of the world, I spent the remainder of my youth in travel, visiting courts and armies, in intercourse with men of diverse dispositions and callings, amassing varied experiences, testing myself in the various situations in which fortune landed me, and at all times making reflections on the things that came my way, and by which I could in any wise profit. . . .

The chief profit I derived from study of them was therefore this: observing that many things, however extravagant and ridiculous they may in our view appear to be, were yet very generally received and approved by other great nations, I learned not to be too confident in any belief to which I had been persuaded merely by example or custom; and thus little by little I delivered myself from many errors powerful enough to darken the natural light, i.e. to incapacitate us from listening to reason. When, however, I had occupied myself some years in thus studying in the book of the world and in striving to widen the range of my experience, I one day resolved to take myself too as an object

of study, and to employ all the powers of my mind in choosing the paths I should follow; and in this I have succeeded, as it seems to me, far better than I could have done had I never quitted my country or put aside my books.

I was then in Germany, drawn thither by the wars which are not yet ended; and on my return to the army, from the coronation of the Emperor, the setting in of winter detained me in a locality where, finding no congenial associates and being otherwise, as it fortunately happened, untroubled by cares or passions of any kind, I remained all day long secluded in a stove-heated room, undistractedly at leisure, communing with my own thoughts. . . .

Thus I came to think that the sciences found in books, at least those whose reasonings are made up merely of plausible arguments and yield no demonstrations, built up, as they are, little by little, from the opinions of many different contributors, do not get so near to the truth as the simple reasonings which a man of good sense, making use of his natural powers, can carry out respecting what happens to come before him. . . .

To be sure, we do not proceed to pull down all the houses of a town, simply for the purpose of rebuilding them differently, to make the streets more beautiful. Often, however, it does happen that this or that house is pulled down with a view to rebuilding; and sometimes this is due to their being in danger to themselves falling, their foundations being insecure. In analogy with this, I persuaded myself that it is not indeed reasonable for a private individual to think of reforming a State by changing everything in it, overturning it in order to re-establish it; and that it is not likely that the whole body of the sciences, or the manner of teaching them, as established in the Schools, can be remodelled. In respect, however, of the opinions which I have hitherto been entertaining, I thought that I could not do better than decide on emptying my mind of them one and all, with a view to the replacing of them by others more tenable, or, it may be, to the re-admitting of them, on their being shown to be in conformity with reason. I was firmly of the belief that by this means I should succeed much better in the conduct of my life than if, building on the old foundations, I relied on principles of which in my youth I had allowed myself to be persuaded, and into the truth of which I had never inquired. . . .

[Descartes accordingly formulated four rules of procedure to which he held unswervingly.]

The *first* was to accept nothing as true which I did not evidently know to be such, that is to say, scrupulously to avoid precipitance and prejudice, and in the judgments I passed to include nothing additional to what had presented itself to my mind so clearly and so distinctly that I could have no occasion for doubting it.

The *second,* to divide each of the difficulties I examined into as many parts as may be required for its adequate solution.

The *third,* to arrange my thoughts in order, beginning with things the simplest and easiest to know, so that I may then ascend little by little, as it were

step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex, and, in doing so, to assign an order of thought even to those objects which are not of themselves in any such order of precedence.

And the *last,* in all cases to make enumerations so complete, and reviews so general, that I should be assured of omitting nothing.

Those long chains of reasonings, each step simple and easy, which geometers are wont to employ in arriving even at the most difficult of their demonstrations, have led me to surmise that all the things we human beings are competent to know are interconnected in the same manner, and that none are so remote as to be beyond our reach or so hidden that we cannot discover them —that is, provided we abstain from accepting as true what is not thus related, i.e. keep always to the order required for their deduction one from another. And I had no great difficulty in determining what the objects are with which I should begin, for that I already knew, viz. that it was with the simplest and easiest. Bearing in mind, too, that of all those who in time past have sought for truth in the sciences, the mathematicians alone have been able to find any demonstrations, that is to say, any reasons which are certain and evident, I had no doubt that it must have been by a procedure of this kind that they had obtained them. In thus starting from what is simplest and easiest I did not as yet anticipate any other advantage than that of accustoming my mind to pasture itself on truths, and to cease from contenting itself with reasons that are false. . . .

I resolved to feign that all the things which had entered my mind were no more true than the illusions of my dreams. But I immediately became aware that while I was thus disposed to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I who thus thought should be somewhat; and noting that this truth *I think, therefore I am,* was so steadfast and so assured that the suppositions of the sceptics, to whatever extreme they might all be carried, could not avail to shake it, I concluded that I might without scruple accept it as being the first principle of the philosophy I was seeking. . . .

I then proceeded to consider, in a general manner, what is requisite to the truth and certainty of a proposition. Having found one—*I think, therefore I am* —which I knew to be true and certain, I thought that I ought also to know in what this certainty consists; and having noted that in this proposition nothing assures me of its truth save only that I see very clearly that in order to think it is necessary to be, I judged that I could take as being a general rule, that the things we apprehend very clearly and distinctly are true—bearing in mind, however, that there is some difficulty in rightly determining which are those we apprehend distinctly.

Reflecting in accordance with this rule on the fact that I doubted, and that consequently my being was not entirely perfect (seeing clearly, as I did, that it is a greater perfection to know than to doubt), I resolved to inquire whence I had learned to think of something more perfect than I myself was; and I saw clearly that it must proceed from some nature that was indeed more perfect . . . that is God. . . .

It is now three years since I finished the treatise which dealt with all these

matters. . . . My speculations were indeed truly pleasing to me; but I recognise that other men have theirs, which perhaps please them even more. As soon, however, as I had acquired some general notions regarding physics, and on beginning to make trial of them in various special difficulties had observed how far they can carry us and how much they differ from the principles hitherto employed, I believed that I could not keep them hidden without grievously sinning against the law which lays us under obligation to promote, as far as in us lies, the general good of all mankind. For they led me to see that it is possible to obtain knowledge highly useful in life, and that in place of the speculative philosophy taught in the Schools we can have a practical philosophy, by means of which, knowing the force and the actions of fire, water, air, of the stars, of the heavens, and of all the bodies that surround us—knowing them as distinctly as we know the various crafts of the artisans—we may in the same fashion employ them in all the uses for which they are suited, thus rendering ourselves the masters and possessors of nature. This is to be desired, not only with a view to the invention of an infinity of arts by which we would be enabled to enjoy without heavy labour the fruits of the earth and all its conveniences, but above all for the preservation of health, which is, without doubt, of all blessings in this life, the first of all goods and the foundation on which the others rest. For the mind is so dependent on the temper and disposition of the bodily organs that if any means can ever be found to render men wiser and more capable than they have hitherto been, I believe that it is in the science of medicine that the means must be sought. It is true that medicine, as currently practised, contains little of any notable utility. With no wish to depreciate it, I am yet sure there is no one, even of those engaged in the profession, who does not admit that all we know is almost nothing in comparison with what remains to be discovered; and that we could be freed from innumerable maladies, both of body and of mind, and even perhaps from the infirmities of age, if we had sufficient knowledge of their causes and of the remedies provided by nature. Intending, therefore, as I do, to devote all my life to the search for this indispensable science, and having discovered a path which, as it seems to me, must, if we follow it out, infallibly guide us to our goal, provided we be not hindered by the shortness of life or through lack of empirical data, I judged that there was no better means of overcoming these two impediments than to communicate to the public all the little I have myself found, and to summon those who are well-disposed and suitably equipped to help, each according to his inclination and ability, in the making of the required observations, and in making public all the things each has thereby learned. In this way those who follow will be enabled to begin where their predecessors have left off. By thus uniting the lives and labours of many, we should collectively advance much further than each by himself could contrive to do.

With regard to [the making of] observations, I also noted that they become the more necessary the further we advance in knowledge. At the start, however, it is better to make use only of those which spontaneously present themselves to our senses, and of which, no matter how slight be our attention to them, we

cannot be ignorant, than of those which are more rare and recondite. What has commended this order of procedure to me is that so long as the causes of the more common are still unknown, those which very rarely occur are all too apt to mislead us, the circumstances on which they depend being nearly always so special and so minute that they are extremely difficult to bring under observation. The order I have adopted is therefore this: first, I have endeavoured to find in a general manner the principles, i.e. the first causes, of all that is or can be in the world, and while so doing to direct my mind to God alone who has created that world, and to deduce the causes from no other source than certain seeds of truth with which our souls are naturally endowed. Then, secondly, I have examined the first and most familiarly known effects deducible from these causes; and therewith, as it seemed to me, I have come to know the heavens, the stars, and Earth, and likewise on the Earth water, air, fire, the minerals and several other such things—things which are, of all things, the most common and which are consequently the easiest to know. Then thirdly, when I sought to descend to those which were more special, so many and so diverse were the things that presented themselves to me, that I could not think it possible for the human mind to distinguish the forms or species of bodies which are on the Earth from an infinity of others that might have been had God willed to set them there, nor consequently to make them serviceable to us [in our search for explanation of them] save by discovering from [study of] the effects what are their causes, availing ourselves for this purpose of some of the rarer, special experiences. Thanks to this [three-fold] procedure, on reviewing all the objects that have ever presented themselves to my senses, I can indeed venture to say that I have not observed any which I could not appropriately explain by the principles I had discovered. . . .

B. Isaac Newton: A Confident Method

When Descartes died in 1650, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was still a young boy in Lincolnshire, England. Newton's most productive period came early in life. By the time he was twenty-four he had essentially formulated the laws describing the attraction between masses, which he called "gravity;" a method of "fluxions" or calculus to describe the motion of objects moving in curved paths, and a theory of the origins of color. He continued to refine and develop his early insights throughout his later life. His most famous work, the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, *was not published until 1687, the* Opticks *not until 1704.*

The decisive impact of Newton's work on the imagination of his contemporaries resulted from his union of the general laws of mechanics with the laws of planetary motion. Newton demonstrated that the planets followed rules that also described the motion of terrestrial objects. The world appeared to be a great machine, connected by the force of attraction called gravity. The movements of the machine could be measured and described mathematically. In the selections

hitherto attempted the search of nature in vain; but I hope the principles here laid down will afford some light either to that or some truer method of philosophy.

2. RULES OF REASONING IN PHILOSOPHY (3)

RULE I

We are to admit no more causes of natural things than such as are both true and sufficient to explain their appearances.

To this purpose the philosophers say that Nature does nothing in vain, and more is in vain when less will serve; for Nature is pleased with simplicity, and affects not the pomp of superfluous causes.

RULE II

Therefore to the same natural effects we must, as far as possible, assign the same causes.

As to respiration in a man and in a beast; the descent of stones in Europe and in America; the light of our culinary fire and of the sun; the reflection of light in the earth, and in the planets.

RULE III

The qualities of bodies, which admit neither intension nor remission of degrees, and which are found to belong to all bodies within the reach of our experiments, are to be esteemed the universal qualities of all bodies whatsoever.

For since the qualities of bodies are only known to us by experiments, we are to hold for universal all such as universally agree with experiments; and such as are not liable to diminution can never be quite taken away. We are certainly not to relinquish the evidence of experiments for the sake of dreams and vain fictions of our own devising; nor are we to recede from the analogy of Nature, which uses to be simple, and always consonant to itself. We no other way know the extension of bodies than by our senses, nor do these reach it in all bodies; but because we perceive extension in all that are sensible, therefore we ascribe it universally to all others also. That abundance of bodies are hard, we learn by experience; and because the hardness of the whole arises from the hardness of the parts, we therefore justly infer the hardness of the undivided particles not only of the bodies we feel but of all others. That all bodies are impenetrable, we gather not from reason, but from sensation. The bodies which we handle we find impenetrable, and thence conclude impenetrability to be an universal property of all bodies whatsoever. That all bodies are movable, and endowed with certain powers (which we call the *vires inertiae*) of persevering in their motion, or in their rest, we only infer from the like properties observed in the bodies which we have seen. The extension, hardness, impenetrability, mobility, and *vis inertiae* of the whole, result from the extension, hardness, impenetrability, mobility, and *vires inertiae* of the parts; and hence we conclude

the least particles of all bodies to be also all extended, and hard and impenetrable, and movable, and endowed with their proper *vires inertiae*. And this is the foundation of all philosophy. Moreover, that the divided but contiguous particles of bodies may be separated from one another, is matter of observation; and, in the particles that remain undivided, our minds are able to distinguish yet lesser parts, as is mathematically demonstrated. But whether the parts so distinguished, and not yet divided, may, by the powers of Nature, be actually divided and separated from one another, we cannot certainly determine. Yet, had we the proof of but one experiment that any undivided particle, in breaking a hard and solid body, suffered a division, we might by virtue of this rule conclude that the undivided as well as the divided particles may be divided and actually separated to infinity.

Lastly, if it universally appears, by experiments and astronomical observations, that all bodies about the earth gravitate towards the earth, and that in proportion to the quantity of matter which they severally contain; that the moon likewise, according to the quantity of its matter, gravitates towards the earth; that, on the other hand, our sea gravitates towards the moon; and all the planets one towards another; and the comets in like manner towards the sun; we must, in consequence of this rule, universally allow that all bodies whatsoever are endowed with a principle of mutual gravitation. For the argument from the appearances concludes with more force for the universal gravitation of all bodies than for their impenetrability; of which, among those in the celestial regions, we have no experiments, nor any manner of observation. Not that I affirm gravity to be essential to bodies: by their *vis insita* I mean nothing but their *vis inertiae*. This is immutable. Their gravity is diminished as they recede from the earth.

RULE IV

In experimental philosophy we are to look upon propositions collected by general induction from phenomena as accurately or very nearly true, notwithstanding any contrary hypotheses that may be imagined, till such time as other phenomena occur, by which they may either be made more accurate, or liable to exceptions.

This rule we must follow, that the argument of induction may not be evaded by hypotheses.

3. A LETTER DESCRIBING HIS OPTICAL EXPERIMENTS, 1672 (4)

[Newton's letter opened with a question raised by the shape of the spectrum. If a pebble is dropped into a pool of water, the impact is diffused in clearly apparent widening circles. If light is also caused by the impact of a particle upon the surrounding medium, as Descartes believed, why does not a ray of light refracted through a prism and onto a wall also appear as a circle?]

Sir,

To perform my late promise to you, I shall without further ceremony acquaint you, that in the beginning of the Year 1666 . . . I procured me a Triangular glass-Prisme, to try therewith the celebrated *Phaenomena of Colours*. And in order thereto having darkened my chamber, and made a small hole in my window-shuts, to let in a convenient quantity of the Suns light, I placed my Prisme at its entrance, that it might be thereby refracted to the opposite wall. It was at first a very pleasing divertisement, to view the vivid and intense colours produced thereby; but after a while applying myself to consider them more circumspectly, I became surprised to see them in an oblong form; which according to the received laws of Refraction, I expected they should have been *circular*.

They were terminated at the sides with straight lines, but at the ends, the decay of light was so gradual, that it was difficult to determine justly, what was their figure; yet they seemed *semicircular*.

Comparing the length of this coloured Spectrum with its breadth, I found it about five times greater; a disproportion so extravagant, that it excited me to a more than ordinary curiousity of examining, from whence it might proceed. I could scarce think, that the various *Thickness* of the glass, or the termination with shadow or darkness, could have any Influence on light to produce such an effect; yet I thought it not amiss to examine first these circumstances, and so tryed, what would happen by transmitting light through parts of the glass of divers thickness, or through holes in the window of divers bignesses, or by setting the Prisme without, so that the light might pass through it and be refracted before it was terminated by the hole: But I found none of those circumstances material. The fashion of the colours was in all cases the same.

[Could it be an irregularity in the glass which distorted the shape of the spectrum? If so, Newton conjectured, refracting the light with two prisms should accentuate the irregularities.]

Then I suspected, whether by an *unevenness* in the glass, or other contingent irregularity, these colours might be thus dilated. And to try this, I took another Prisme like the former, and so placed it, that the light, passing through them both, might be refracted contrary ways, and so by the latter returned into that course, from which the former had diverted it. For, by this means, I thought, the *regular* effects of the first Prisme would be destroyed by the second Prisme, but the irregular ones more augmented, by the multiplicity of refractions. The event was, that the light, which by the first Prisme was diffused into an *oblong* form, was by the second reduced into an *orbicular* [circular] one with as much regularity, as when it did not all pass through them. So that, whatever was the cause of that length, 'twas not any contingent irregularity. . . .

[Newton then wondered whether the shape of the spectrum was determined by the difference of the angle of the rays hitting the prism from various parts of the sun. Further calculation and experimentation threw out

this explanation also. He went on to another explanation and then a crucial experiment.]

Then I began to suspect, whether the Rays, after their trajection through the Prisme, did not move in curved lines, and according to their more or less curvity tend to divers parts of the wall. And it increased my suspition, when I remembered that I had often seen a Tennis-ball, struck with an oblique Racket, describe such a curve line. For a circular as well as a progressive motion being communicated to it by that stroak, its parts on that side, where the motions conspire, must press and beat the contiguous Air more violently than on the other, and there excite a reluctancy and reaction of the Air proportionably greater. And for the same reason, if the Rays of light should possibly be globular bodies, and by their oblique passage out of one medium into another acquire a circulating motion, they ought to feel the greater resistance from the ambient Aether, on that side, where the motions conspire, and thence be continually bowed to the other. But notwithstanding this plausible ground of suspition, when I came to examine it, I could observe no such curvity in them. And besides (which was enough for my purpose) I observed, that the difference betwixt the length of the Image, and diameter of the hole, through which the light was transmitted, was proportionable to their distance.

The gradual removal of these suspitions at length led me to the *Experimentum Crucis,* which was this: I took two boards, and placed one of them close behind the Prisme at the window, so that the light might pass through a small hole, made in it for that purpose, and fall on the other board, which I placed at about 12 foot distance, having first made a small hole in it also, for some of that Incident light to pass through. Then I placed another Prisme behind this second board, so that the light, trajected through both the boards, might pass through that also, and be again refracted before it arrived at the wall. This done, I took the first Prisme in my hand, and turned it to and fro slowly about its *Axis,* so much as to make the several parts of the Image, cast on the second board, successively pass through the hole in it, that I might observe to what places on the wall the second Prisme would refract them. And I saw by the variation of those places, that the light, tending to that end of the Image, towards which the refraction of the first Prisme was made, did in the second Prisme suffer a Refraction considerably greater then the light tending to the other end. And so the true cause of the length of that Image was detected to be no other, then that *Light* consists of *Rays differently refrangible,* which, without any respect to a difference in their incidence, were, according to their degrees of refrangibility, transmitted towards divers parts of the wall. . . .

[Newton concluded by linking his finding that "Light consists of Rays differently refrangible" with the origins of colors.]

I shall now proceed to acquaint you with another more notable difformity in its Rays, wherein the *Origin of Colours* is infolded. A naturalist would scearce expect to see ye science of those become mathematicall, & yet I dare affirm that

there is as much certainty in it as in any other part of Opticks. For what I shall tell concerning them is not an Hypothesis but most rigid consequence, not conjectured by barely inferring 'tis thus because not otherwise or because it satisfies all phaenomena (the Philosophers universall Topick,) but evinced by ye mediation of experiments concluding directly & without any suspicion of doubt. . . .

C. Man and a Mechanistic Universe

Newton's followers pushed his image of the world machine far beyond the limits carefully defined by the master in his own scientific work. To the young American, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), writing in London in 1725, both the physical universe and human behavior could be described by the laws of motion, with God as the great mechanic. Franklin was enormously pleased by the image of the universe as a great clock, and of Newtonian science as the guide to all knowledge.

Others were less sanguine. The image of the machine and the Newtonian method aroused intense concern even among those dedicated to science. The doubts are apparent in the pages of the Encyclopédie, *the massive compilation of the new rational knowledge edited by Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and published in France in the middle of the eighteenth century. In a hundred different ways the Encyclopedists pledged their faith in science, but they criticized physicists for their love of abstractions and their cold theoretical rigor. In the article on chemistry, for example, the author looked back nostalgically to pre-Newtonian philosophers who enjoyed a certain sympathy with the world they studied. Chemists, he argued, still had something of the same sense of direct contact with experience. They were not deceived by calculations but derived their theories from an intimate association with nature and an "experimental instinct."*

Diderot himself published a long attack on mathematics in his Thoughts On the Interpretation of Nature. *Figures, he said, could not capture the true moral and aesthetic meaning of material objects. In a similar vein, he lauded the artisan in his article "Art" in the* Encyclopédie.

—How did Franklin see the relationship between science and morality? How did Diderot see it?

—What is the relationship between Diderot's praise of the artisan and Descartes' definition of the scientific method?

1. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: NATURE AS A GREAT CLOCK (5)

. . . By *liberty* is sometimes understood the absence of opposition; and in this sense, indeed, all our actions may be said to be the effects of our liberty: But it is a liberty of the same nature with the fall of a heavy body to the ground;

it has liberty to fall, that is, it meets with nothing to hinder its fall, but at the same time it is necessitated to fall, and has no power or liberty to remain suspended.

But let us take the argument in another view, and suppose ourselves to be, in the common sense of the word, *free agents*. As man is a part of this great machine, the universe, his regular acting is requisite to the regular moving of the whole. Among the many things which lie before him to be done, he may, as he is at liberty and his choice influenced by nothing (for so it must be, or he is not at liberty), choose any one, and refuse the rest. Now there is every moment something *best* to be done, which is alone then *good*, and with respect to which everything else is at that time *evil*. In order to know which is best to be done, and which not, it is requisite that we should have at one view all the intricate consequences of every action with respect to the general order and scheme of the universe, both present and future; but they are innumerable and incomprehensible by anything but omniscience. As we cannot know these, we have but as one chance to ten thousand to hit on the right action; we should then be perpetually blundering about in the dark, and putting the scheme in disorder; for every wrong action of a part is a defect or blemish in the order of the whole. Is it not necessary, then that our actions should be over-ruled and governed by an all-wise Providence?—How exact and regular is everything in the *natural* world! How wisely in every part contrived! We cannot here find the least defect! Those who have studied the mere animal and vegetable creation demonstrate that nothing can be more harmonious and beautiful! All the heavenly bodies, the stars and planets, are regulated with the utmost wisdom! And can we suppose less care to be taken in the order of the moral than in the natural system? It is as if an ingenious artificer, having framed a curious machine or clock, and put its many intricate wheels and powers in such a dependence on one another that the whole might move in the most exact order and regularity, had nevertheless placed in it several other wheels endued with an independent *self-motion*, but ignorant of the general interest of the clock; and these would every now and then be moving wrong, disordering the true movement, and making continual work for the mender: which might better be prevented by depriving them of that power of self-motion, and placing them in a dependence on the regular part of the clock.

2. DENIS DIDEROT: NATURE AND THE ARTISAN (6)

ORIGIN OF ARTS AND SCIENCES: Arts and sciences derive from man's industry being applied to natural phenomena, whether for his needs, his comfort, his amusement, or just his curiosity. Our specialized observations and reflections on any subject are called either an art or a science according to the nature of what logicians would call their formal object. If it involves doing, the body or principles and observations relating to it constitutes an art: if, on the contrary, the object is one which involves examination and thought about its various aspects, the body of principles and observations is called a science. . . .

DISTINCTION BETWEEN MECHANICAL AND LIBERAL ARTS: If one examines the products of various forms of art it is clear that some of them owe more to the mind of the artist than to his manual efforts while with others it is the opposite. This difference gives rise to two things: the fact that some arts are conceded a higher place in the scale of values than others, and the division into liberal arts and mechanical arts. Although this division is basically sound it has had the unfortunate effect of causing certain highly estimable and very useful people to be despised and of encouraging in us a very natural laziness which has already led us too easily to believe that a close application in studies of material things, particular experiments and the like is in some way a derogation of human dignity and further that to practise, or even to study, the *mechanical* arts is to lower oneself to subjects in which research is laborious, thought undignified, and exposition difficult. Occupation with them is considered to impart a slur and is moreover wearisome for their number is incalculable, and their value infinitesimal. . . . This prejudice has tended to fill cities with intellectual snobs and useless contemplatives and the countryside with petty tyrants who are ignorant, idle, and haughty. . . .

GEOMETRY OF THE ARTS: It will be freely admitted that there are but few artists who do not need to know the elements of mathematics, but a paradox not so readily seen is that in many cases such knowledge would be harmful to them if their wide practical familiarity with physical things were not there as a corrective to theory—knowledge of places, positions, irregular figures, substances, and their characteristics, elasticity, rigidity, friction, consistency, durability, effects of air, water, cold, heat, dryness, etc. It is clear that academical mathematics consist only of the simpler and less involved elements of the mathematics of workshops. There is no such lever in real life as Varignon imagines in his propositions; there is no natural lever of which all the conditions can be brought to calculation. Among these conditions there are many of great practical importance which, though they are appreciable, cannot be measured by even the most precise mathematical computation. From this it follows that one whose knowledge of science is purely theoretical is usually a pretty clumsy fellow, while an artist whose knowledge of science is only practical is but a very limited craftsman. But, it seems to me, experience shows that an artist can more easily dispense with theory than any man, no matter what he be, can do without a certain measure of practical knowledge. The whole question of friction, for example, has remained, in spite of calculations, a matter of experience and experiment. How far would theory take us on its own? How many bad machines are designed every day by people who imagine that levers and wheels and pulleys and ropes work in a machine as they do on paper and who, having no practical experience, know nothing of the difference between an actual machine and its sectional drawing. . . .

Questions for Thought

Which aspect of Descartes' approach to scientific inquiry made the sharpest break with tradition? Which aspect of Newton's? Does a belief in the scientific method as the best mode of rational inquiry continue to pose moral problems?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) René Descartes, "Discourse on Method," in *Descartes' Philosophical Writings,* ed. and trans. by Norman K. Smith (London, 1952), pp. 118, 120-26, 128-30, 133-35, 137, 140-42, 151-53, 162. Reprinted by permission of St. Martin's Press and Macmillan & Company, Ltd.

(2) Sir Isaac Newton, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,* trans. Andrew Motte (London, 1819), I, ix-x.

(3) *Ibid.,* II, 160-62.

(4) H. W. Turnbull, ed., *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, 1959), I, 92-97. Reprinted by permission of the Royal Society.

(5) Benjamin Franklin, *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (London, 1725).

(6) Romain Rolland, André Maurois, Edouard Herriot, eds., *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1953), pp. 292-93, 298, 301. Reprinted by permission of Cassell and Company Ltd.

CHAPTER NINE

Politics in the Age of Absolutism

By the seventeenth century the conditions of political disorder that had encouraged feudalism in Western Europe had long since receded. New threats to political stability—dynastic struggles, religious schisms, and civil wars—were offset by other forces that hastened the accumulation of power by centralized royal governments. A vigorous commercial development brought economic power and political influence to the town-dwellers, the bourgeoisie, who resented aristocratic privilege. The invention of gunpowder in the late Middle Ages undermined the monopoly of military power held by the nobles, just as the invention of movable type undermined the monopoly of intellectual leadership held by the clergy. In addition, the ideas generated by the Renaissance and Reformation helped weaken opposition to centralized political authority.

The modern monarch achieved his great power against strong opposition. Although the feudal nobility and clergy no longer performed functions essential to political order, they still resisted being transformed into mere appendages of the throne. Great finesse was required to keep them, and the temporal and spiritual traditions they represented, subservient to royal interests. The bourgeoisie too, while a valuable ally to the monarch in his efforts to concentrate political power in his own person, became increasingly self-conscious and independent. In fact, the middle class had so risen in influence by the seventeenth century that the concept of absolutism was already being challenged.

This chapter deals with the two central problems of political practice and philosophy in the seventeenth century. It examines royal absolutism, its justifica-

tion, its methods, and its consequences. France under Louis XIV, commonly considered the best example of absolutism in action, and Stuart England, where absolutism failed to work, are the subjects of the first two parts of the chapter. These parts seek answers to several questions: What were the merits of absolutism? What were its limitations? How did it function in theory and in fact? To what degree was it successful in France? Why was it not successful in England?

The all-powerful state curtailed some previously existing personal liberties; the curtailment raised anew the old political problem of reconciling the need for security with the desire for liberty. Part III contains reflections on this dilemma by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, three of the most influential political thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While each of these men revived the ancient concept of a social contract as the basis of government, each also drew on contemporary events in fashioning a framework for his theory.

PART I

The Limits of Authoritarian Bureaucracy

The reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) was a critical step in the evolution of the modern state, for Louis claimed that he, as king of the French, had the right to complete control over making and executing law. His enforcement of this claim was a successful attack on political traditions inherited from the feudal era. Louis' attitude toward personal power has been summed up in the famous phrase attributed to him, "*L'état c'est moi*"; he undoubtedly believed that the government of the state should be no more than a reflection of his wishes.

The strengthening of national government was required if stability was to be achieved amid the distresses and divisions of Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The quickest route to a strong national government is through the energies of an able ruler, despotically inclined, and despots became the rule rather than the exception. In France the power of Louis XIV seems to have rested essentially on belief among the mass of his subjects that the king was best able to represent the interests of the country and avoid a recurrence of the near-anarchy of recent generations. This belief had long been

growing. The development of the French nation-state under Louis XI (1461-1483) and Francis I (1515-1547) had been interrupted by the bitter wars of religion in the second half of the sixteenth century. The victory of the Protestant Henry IV (1589-1610), who abjured his faith for the sake of French unity but also granted Protestants a degree of religious freedom in the Edict of Nantes of 1589, created a new opportunity for the consolidation of royal power. But years of confusion and lack of leadership followed the assassination of the well-liked and forceful king by a religious fanatic. Strong ministers, like Cardinal Richelieu and his successor Mazarin, ruled France for almost forty years in a fashion reminiscent of the Carolingian mayors of the palace in the seventh and eighth centuries. It is significant, however, that Richelieu always considered himself the agent of the state and subordinated all other considerations to the enhancement of its power.

This principle he called *raison d'état*—literally "reason of state" and its practice quickened the hostility of the established elements of the old feudal order. When Henry's feckless son, Louis XIII (1610-1643), died one year after his great minister and left the crown in the hands of a boy of five, discontent among the nobles erupted in a series of violent uprisings known as the Fronde. Lack of unity among the nobility eventually enabled Richelieu's hand-picked successor, Cardinal Mazarin, to regain control. But the eventual success neither erased the memory of years of insecurity for the young king nor blotted out the fact that Mazarin's triumph continued the alienation of power from the crown.

On the day following the death of Mazarin March 9, 1661 Louis summoned the members of his council of state to his apartments. Having expected that one of their number would receive the coveted position of chief minister, they were astounded to hear the previously indolent twenty-three year old declare that he would henceforth manage his own affairs. "You will assist me with your advise, messieurs, when I ask for it. I order you to sign nothing, not even a passport, without my command." Thus began the absolute rule of Louis XIV. In the fifty-four years that followed, until his death in 1715 at the age of seventy-seven, France became the dominant European power. French arms expanded the boundaries of Louis' realm in a series of great wars; French colonies were established in the New World; French prosperity was so envied that the term "bourgeoisie" was used to describe the middle class in all Western lands. French culture—architecture, literature, philosophy, science—set the standard for Europe. The other princes hastened to imitate the way of life, the language, and the dress of the majestic "Sun King" of France.

But in the end the inordinate ambition of Louis "the Great," as he was officially proclaimed, overreached itself. He had hoped to attain the "natural boundaries" of France—the Pyrenees, Alps, and Rhine. In pursuit of this goal he waged four major wars covering thirty-one years of his reign. Thwarted by the Dutch in his first attempt to expand northward, Louis' dislike of the Lowlanders became an obsession, and he concentrated the diplomatic, economic, and military resources of France in an effort to crush them. English neutrality was at first purchased by secretly giving large amounts of money to the Stuart mon-

archs, but the assumption of the English crown after the Glorious Revolution by William of Orange, Louis' old Dutch foe, brought the weight of Britain against him. The last of Louis' wars (1701-1713) concerned the succession to the Spanish throne, but this long and bitter conflict spread across most of Europe and erupted in North America as well. The endless campaigns in Spain, Flanders, Germany, and Italy exhausted the well-being of the nation and the spirit of the people. "The King was but little regretted," wrote a contemporary about his death two years after the peace settlement at Utrecht. Yet, despite its failures, the reign of Louis XIV is of great importance to Europe's history as an exemplification of royal absolutism. In the documents that follow an attempt has been made to indicate the scope of absolutism under the Sun King, in both theory and practice. As you read, consider to what degree Louis was absolute. What factors determined how his policies were formed and carried out? Are such factors peculiar to an absolutist government?

A. The Reign of Louis XIV: A Recent Appraisal

Roland Mousnier, a leading French scholar, describes the broad powers exercised by Louis XIV and compares this with the situation during the years France was governed by Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin.

- How did the king exercise absolute power?
- In what way was Louis more "modern" than the rulers who preceded him?

1. THE METHODS OF AUTHORITARIAN BUREAUCRACY (1)

Royal power was exerted in two fashions according to the times. When the king was incompetent like Louis XIII or too young like Louis XIV from 1643 to 1661, rule by a ministry was set up. A first minister such as Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin in France or Count-Duke Olivares in Spain governed in the name of the king and was responsible to him. . . . But, as in the feudal times of vassalage, the minister assumed the attributes of the Mayor of the Palace during the age of the last Merovingians. He surrounded the king with his men, placed his followers in all important positions, created his own dynasty, made his kinsmen marshals of France, generals of the galleys, dukes and peers, married his nieces to the princes of the blood royal, and like Richelieu owned fortified places such as Brouage and Le Havre which he passed on to his heirs and possessed troops and companies of infantry and noblemen. The king was gradually abandoned by his captains who entered into the service of the minister until the time came when he was alone and powerless, confronted by his minister who controlled the best soldiers, and was unable to obtain obedience within the kingdom except through the intercession of the minister and his supporters. The death of such a minister was always a release for the king.

When Louis XIV, therefore, constructed the system which Henry IV had

instinctively desired, he determined to be his own first minister in order that he alone would be acquainted with the overall course of the government and become indispensible. The king was thus drawn into an existence which was more and more bureaucratic, regulated and organized for maximum efficiency. "With an almanac and a watch one might, 300 leagues from him, tell what he was doing." He felt he had to isolate himself at Versailles in a palace and a town built for the working hours of the king no less than for its psychological value and his own pleasure. There are those who have seen an imitation of Spain in this bureaucratic existence. In reality, it appeared wherever absolutism developed. It sprang from necessity.

During the era of the rule by minister, institutions were set in order. But institutional development gave rights to powerful and dangerous men in addition to the minister. With Louis XIV there began a movement in the opposite direction, which left the field open for the royal will. During the days of rule by minister, government was a matter of family, birth, titles and offices. The members of the royal family, the princes of the blood, the dukes and the peers, the Chancellor, the Superintendent of Finance, all were members of the Supreme Council. The ministers held their position on the basis of royal letters, which once they had received they considered their private possession. Louis XIV caused a revolution. He removed from the Supreme Council all persons who had a claim to political power because of birth, title or office. First his mother, his brother, the princes of the blood royal; government ceased to be a family matter and became truly personal. Then followed the Chancellor of France, the churchmen, the great nobles. Finally the high officials. Of all the secretaries of state, not one was ever a minister. To be a minister ceased to mean special status. There were no more letters or warrants. A man became a minister on the day on which the king had him called to the Council by the usher; he ceased to be a minister on the day on which the usher no longer called him. The king talked over his affairs at certain moments with the men who suited him. No one except the king had any right in government. All was concentrated in the person of the king. . . .

The king distrusted his ministers and his secretaries of state. He went back to a division of labor and tried to assign work on interrelated subjects in such a way that no specialist could be in a position to thwart his will. He set his officials against one another, stirred them up, divided them, fanned their mutual jealousies and considered the feuding of the Colbert and Le Tellier families as a guarantee of his power.

The king's problem in both eras was not only to obtain the obedience of his subjects but to gain control of his officials who had become independent as a result of venality of office, and to exercise full legislative, judicial, police and administrative powers. For this purpose the king made use of *lettres de cachet* to inform individuals and segments of society directly of his will. By *lettre de cachet* the king arrested, imprisoned and exiled; at the request of their family, he punished the misconduct of a son or a spouse; he averted resistance and punished sedition and plots with the enemy without trial. When the king had

spoken, there remained nothing except to submit to his authority, the legal source of justice. . . .

The king made use of intendants in the army and in the administration of justice, police and finance. They were primarily inspectors, charged with keeping the officials and subjects of the king under surveillance and to report to the council. The council could then either settle the question directly by decree or confer upon the intendant through an ordinance the necessary powers to decide, judge or regulate it. The intendant might, therefore, sometimes be present in the council of the governor and give his advice; he might preside over courts of justice, amend the laws according to the ordinances, decide whether the officials were performing their duties, suspend them if this were not so, hear the complaints of the king's subjects and see that they were given justice by the judges. The intendant presided over municipal assemblies, supervised elections, examined the debts of communities and checked on the observance of orders and rules; it was the first attempt at administrative supervision. The intendant supervised the collection of taxes, presided over the bureaus of finance and made sure that ordinances and regulations were carried out. . . .

The king made use of a political police. It was composed of the intendants, of spies and agents scattered everywhere, of the commander of the Bastille in Paris, who was in charge of criminal affairs and, after 1667, of La Reynie, the lieutenant general of police. One incorrectly interpreted word and, whether duke or servant, the individual landed in the Bastille. At the least suspicion, the intendants or the council levied accusations of *lèse-majesté;* judgment was made on mere presumptions, for Richelieu, Louis XIII and Louis XIV, all believed that it was almost impossible to obtain mathematical proof when conspiracy was suspected, and that one should not await an outcome in which all might be lost. More frequently than going through a legal procedure, the king had recourse to an indefinite period of preventive imprisonment by means of a *lettre de cachet.*

A permanent army of mercenaries, regularly paid and strictly disciplined, ensured the execution of the royal orders.

In all important positions, such as those of ministers, secretaries of state, controller general, etc., Louis XIV desired only "faithful assistants" who would combine personal services with their public duties and, like Colbert, would pass on royal billets-doux to his favorites or take charge of his illegitimate children at the delivery of the royal mistresses. He made use of the sense of loyalty inherent in vassalage but wanted his person to be its sole object. He tried to achieve absolutism by establishing a direct contact between all Frenchmen and the king, by a personal tie as vassals are tied to their suzerain. He wanted to be the unique and universal suzerain or, at least, the universal guardian. "All eyes were fastened on him alone; it was to him alone that all wishes were directed; he alone received all deference; he alone was the object of all hope; one aspired and understood and achieved only through him. His good graces were regarded as the sole source of all possessions; advancement was measured by the extent that one might approach his person or rise in his esteem; all the rest was sterile." All

ties of sentiment and interest converged on the king who accordingly personified the wishes and hopes of all his subjects, and by this means, no less than the exercise of personal power, concentrated the state and achieved the unity of the state in his own person. By thus using very old sentiments, he prepared his subjects to proceed to the conception of the impersonal state. By utilizing medieval survivals, Louis XIV prepared the way for the modern state.

The king also prepared for this by opposing class to class and by elevating the bourgeoisie in the social scale. Increasingly during the course of the century, the king chose his ministers, his councillors and his intendants from among the bourgeoisie. They were his men, "come from the solid and perfect class of commoners," and "exalted above all grandeur." The king ennobled the Le Telliers and the Colberts, making them marquises and lords designated by the name of their land, Louvois, Barbezieux, Croissy, Torcy. He created dynasties of ministers and of bourgeois families and their relatives whose strength he then used against the noble families. . . . Among the councillors who had the traditional right of belonging to the Privy Council, the dukes and peers gradually disappeared. The regulation of 1673 omits them. The councillors of state received titles of nobility which could be passed on to their sons. They and their wives were presented at court and were admitted to pay homage to the king. They were great lords, holders of fiefs. Their sons often wore the sword and served in the regiments of the king, at least for a time, before entering the government. The king thus systematically elevated the lawyers devoted to his service, and made them a nobility of the robe. More and more, it was service to the sovereign, the incarnation of the state, that determined an individual's position in society. . . .

And so the king, by dividing offices among the two classes but reserving the most important for the lesser class, the bourgeoisie, and by systematically elevating the latter and setting it in opposition to the other, the more powerful, brought the struggle of the classes to a point of equilibrium which assured his personal power and also unity, order, hierarchy in the government and the state. But also, perhaps constrained by crisis and war and without intending to change the social structure of the country, the king levelled and equalized more and more in the interest of the state in the direction of total submission and obedience without limits; the power of Louis XIV became autocratic and revolutionary at the same time.

B. Divine Right: The Theory

The practice of royal absolutism received strong justification from the theory of the sacred nature of kingly power. Bishop Jacques Bossuet (1627–1704), like most Christian theologians before him, held that monarchs were God's representatives in the political affairs of earth. When he became tutor to Louis XIV's only son, Bossuet composed a treatise for his young pupil's instruction entitled Politics

Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture. *It is a forceful and eloquent statement of both the privileges and the responsibilities of kingship under God.*

—If Bossuet's argument was not new, why did it have special significance in the seventeenth century?
—Did the Papacy play an important role in the Divine Right theory? How would you explain this?
—To what part of the bishop's treatise might Louis have tended to pay most heed?

1. BOSSUET ON THE POSITION OF KING (2)

. . . We have already seen that all power is of God. The ruler, adds St. Paul, "is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Rulers then act as the ministers of God and as his lieutenants on earth. It is through them that God exercises his empire. Think ye "to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David"? Consequently, as we have seen, the royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. The Lord "hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel." And again, "Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord." . . .

It appears from all this that the person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. God has the kings anointed by his prophets with the holy unction in like manner as he has bishops and altars anointed. But even without the external application in thus being anointed, they are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of his purposes. . . .

The royal power is absolute. With the aim of making this truth hateful and insufferable, many writers have tried to confound absolute government with arbitrary government. But no two things could be more unlike, as we shall show when we come to speak of justice.

The prince need render account of his acts to no one. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not on an evil thing for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing." Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress evil. It is necessary that his power be such that no one can hope to escape him, and, finally, the only protection of individuals against the public authority should be their innocence. This conforms with the teaching of St. Paul: "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good." . . .

God is infinite, God is all. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person: he is a public personage, all the state is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection and all strength are united in God, so all the power of individuals is united in the person of the prince. What grandeur that a single man should embody so much! . . .

So great is this majesty that it cannot reside in the prince as in its source; it is borrowed from God, who gives it to him for the good of the people, for whom it is good to be checked by a superior force. Something of divinity itself is attached to princes and inspires fear in the people. The king should not forget this. "I have said,"—it is God who speaks,— "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." . . .

O kings, exercise your power then boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind, but exercise it with humility. You are endowed with it from without. At bottom it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

C. The King in Action: A Royal View

To imbue his son with a clear concept of the proper functioning of the kingly office and to insure a continuation of dynastic policy, Louis began early in his reign to jot down points which seemed of particular significance. The following advice, written about 1666, conveys his thoughts on the manner and purpose of a king's work.

—What did Louis regard as the function of a king?

1. LOUIS XIV DESCRIBES THE FUNCTIONS OF A KING TO HIS SON (3)

Two things without doubt were absolutely necessary: very hard work on my part, and a wise choice of persons capable of seconding it.

As for work, it may be, my son, that you will begin to read these Memoirs at an age when one is far more in the habit of dreading than loving it, only too happy to have escaped subjection to tutors and to have your hours regulated no longer, nor lengthy and prescribed study laid down for you.

. . . It is . . . toil *by which* one reigns, and *for which* one reigns. . . .

I laid a rule on myself to work regularly twice every day, and for two or three hours each time with different persons, without counting the hours which I passed privately and alone, nor the time which I was able to give on particular occasions to any special affairs that might arise. There was no moment when I did not permit people to talk to me about them provided that they were urgent. . . .

I cannot tell you what fruit I gathered immediately I had taken this resolution. I felt myself, as it were, uplifted in thought and courage; I found myself quite another man, and with joy reproached myself for having been too long unaware of it. This first timidity, which a little self-judgment always produces and which at the beginning gave me pain, especially on occasions when I had to speak in public, disappeared in less than no time. The only thing I felt then

Louis XIV as the Sun King. Detail from *The Conquest of the Franche-Comté* by the king's favorite painter, Charles Le Brun. It is typical of the many huge paintings which covered the walls of Versailles. Le Brun was highly successful in depicting Louis as the king wanted himself portrayed.

was that I was King, and born to be one. I experienced next a delicious feeling, hard to express, and which you will not know yourself except by tasting it as I have done. For you must not imagine, my son, that the affairs of State are like some obscure and thorny path of learning which may possibly have already wearied you, wherein the mind strives to raise itself with effort above its purview, more often to arrive at no conclusion, and whose utility or apparent utility is repugnant to us as much as its difficulty. The function of Kings consists principally in allowing good sense to act, which always acts naturally and without effort. What we apply ourselves to is sometimes less difficult than what we do only for our amusement. Its usefulness always follows. A King, however skilful and enlightened be his ministers, cannot put his own hand to the work without its effect being seen. Success, which is agreeable in everything, even in the smallest matters, gratifies us in these as well as in the greatest, and there is no satisfaction to equal that of noting every day some progress in glorious and lofty enterprises, and in the happiness of the people which has been planned and thought out by oneself. All that is most necessary to this work is at the same time agreeable; for, in a word, my son, it is to have one's eyes open to the whole earth; to learn each hour the news concerning every province and every nation,

the secrets of every court, the mood and the weaknesses of each Prince and of every foreign minister; to be well-informed on an infinite number of matters about which we are supposed to know nothing; to elicit from our subjects what they hide from us with the greatest care; to discover interests of those who come to us with quite contrary professions. I do not know of any other pleasure we would not renounce for that. . . .

D. The King in Action: A Noble View

Louis de Ronvray, Duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755) was a member of one of the most illustrious noble families of France. Since presence at the court was virtually obligatory for any person who desired advancement, the nobility gathered there in droves to gossip, to intrigue, and simply to enjoy their privileges. Saint-Simon was a keen observer of this scene. His notes, begun in the year 1694, cover the latter part of Louis' reign. The first excerpt from his Memoirs *describes a typical day in the life of the Sun King, the second analyzes Louis' effectiveness as a ruler.*

—Does the account given by Saint-Simon tally with Louis' own view of himself as an executive?
—How reliable as historical evidence is the work of Saint-Simon?

1. THE KING'S DAY (4)

At eight o'clock the chief *valet de chambre* on duty, who alone had slept in the royal chamber, and who had dressed himself, awoke the King. The chief physician, the chief surgeon, and the nurse (as long as she lived), entered at the same time. The latter kissed the King; the others rubbed and often changed his shirt, because he was in the habit of sweating a great deal. At the quarter, the grand chamberlain was called (or, in his absence, the first gentleman of the chamber), and those who had what was called the *grandes entrées*. The chamberlain (or chief gentleman) drew back the curtains which had been closed again, and presented the holy water from the vase, at the head of the bed. These gentlemen stayed but a moment, and that was the time to speak to the King, if anyone had anything to ask of him; in which case the rest stood aside. When, contrary to custom, nobody had aught to say, they were there but for a few moments. He had opened the curtains and presented the holy water, presented also a prayer book. Then all passed into the cabinet of the council. . . .

As soon as he was dressed, he prayed to God, at the side of his bed, where all the clergy present knelt, the cardinals without cushions, all the laity remaining standing; and the captain of the guards came to the balustrade during the prayer, after which the King passed into his cabinet.

He found there, or was followed by all who had the *entrée*, a very numerous company, for it included everybody in any office. He gave orders to each for

the day; thus within a half a quarter of an hour it was known what he meant to do; and then all this crowd left directly. The bastards, a few favorites, and the valets alone were left. It was then a good opportunity for talking with the King; for example, about plans of gardens and buildings; and conversation lasted more or less according to the person engaged in it.

All the Court meantime waited for the King in the gallery, the captain of the guard being alone in the chamber seated at the door of the cabinet. At morning the court waited in the saloon; at Trianon in the front rooms as at Meudon; at Fontainebleau in the chamber and antechamber. During this pause the King gave audiences when he wished to accord any, spoke with whoever he might wish to speak secretly to, and gave secret interviews to foreign ministers in presence of Torcy. They were called "secret" simply to distinguish them from the uncommon ones by the bedsides.

The King went to mass, where his musicians always sang an anthem. He did not go below except on grand *fêtes* or at ceremonies. While he was going to and returning from mass, everybody spoke to him who wished, after apprising the captain of the guard, if they were not distinguished; and he came and went by the door of the cabinets into the gallery. During the mass the ministers assembled in the King's chamber where distinguished people could go and speak or chat with them. The King amused himself a little upon returning from mass and asked almost immediately for the Council. Then the morning was finished. . . .

The dinner was always *au petit couvert,* that is, the King ate by himself in his chamber upon a square table in front of the middle window. It was more or less abundant, for he ordered in the morning whether it was to be "a little" or "very little" service. But even at this last, there were always many dishes, and three courses without counting the fruit. . . .

Upon leaving the table the King immediately entered his cabinet. That was the time for distinguished people to speak to him. He stopped at the door a moment to listen, then entered; very rarely did anyone follow him, never without asking him for permission to do so; and for this few had the courage. If followed he placed himself in the embrasure of the window nearest to the door of the cabinet, which immediately closed of itself, and which you were obliged to open yourself on quitting the King. This also was the time for the bastards and the valets.

The King amused himself by feeding his dogs, and remained with them more or less time, then asked for his wardrobe, changed before the very few distinguished people it pleased the first gentleman of the chamber to admit there, and immediately went out by the back stairs into the court of marble to get into his coach. From the bottom of that staircase to the coach, anyone spoke to him who wished. . . .

After supper the King stood some moments, his back to the balustrade of the foot of his bed, encircled by all his Court; then, with bows to the ladies, passed into his cabinet, where on arriving, he gave his orders. He passed a little less than an hour there, seated in an armchair, with his legitimate children and

bastards, his grandchildren, legitimate and otherwise, and their husbands and wives. Monsieur in another armchair; the princesses upon stools, Monseigneur and all the other princes standing.

The King, wishing to retire, went and fed his dogs; then said good night, passed into his chamber to the ruelle of his bed, where he said his prayers, as in the morning, then undressed. He said good night with an inclination of the head, and while everybody was leaving the room stood at the corner of the mantlepiece, where he gave the order to the colonel of the guards alone. Then commenced what was called the *petit coucher,* at which only the specially privileged remained. That was short. They did not leave until he got into bed. It was a moment to speak to him. . . .

2. LOUIS XIV AS ABSOLUTE MONARCH (5)

I shall pass over the stormy period of Louis XIV's minority. At twenty-three years of age he entered the great world as King, under the most favorable auspices. His ministers were the most skillful in all Europe; his generals the best; his Court was filled with illustrious and clever men, formed during the troubles which had followed the death of Louis XIII.

Louis XIV was made for a brilliant Court. In the midst of other men, his figure, his courage, his grace, his beauty, his grand mien, even the tone of his voice and the majestic and natural charm of all his person, distinguished him till his death as the King Bee, and showed that if he had only been born a simple private gentleman, he would equally have excelled in *fêtes,* pleasures, and gallantry, and would have had the greatest success in love. The intrigues and adventures which early in life he had been engaged in . . . had exercised an unfortunate influence upon him: he received those impressions with which he could never after successfully struggle. From this time, intellect, education, nobility of sentiment, and high principle, in others, became objects of suspicion to him, and soon of hatred. The more he advanced in years, the more this sentiment was confirmed in him. He wished to reign by himself. His jealousy on this point unceasingly became weakness. He reigned, indeed, in little things; the great he could never reach: even in the former, too, he was often governed. The superior ability of his early ministers and his early generals soon wearied him. He liked nobody to be in any way superior to him. Thus he chose his ministers, not for their knowledge, but for their ignorance; not for their capacity, but for their want of it. He liked to form them, as he said; liked to teach them even the most trifling things. It was the same with his generals. He took credit to himself for instructing them; wished it to be thought that from his cabinet he commanded and directed all his armies. Naturally fond of trifles, he unceasingly occupied himself with the most petty details of his troops, his household, his mansions; would even instruct his cooks, who received, like novices, lessons they had known by heart for years. This vanity, this unmeasured and unreasonable love of admiration, was his ruin. His ministers, his generals, his mistresses, his courtiers, soon perceived his weakness. They praised him with

emulation and spoiled him. Praises, or to say truth, flattery, pleased him to such an extent, that the coarsest was well received, the vilest even better relished. It was the sole means by which you could approach him. Those whom he liked owed his affection for them to their untiring flatteries. This is what gave his ministers so much authority, and the opportunities they had for adulating him, of attributing everything to him, and of pretending to learn everything from him. Suppleness, meanness, an admiring, dependent, cringing manner—above all, an air of nothingness—were the sole means of pleasing him. . . .

He followed two maxims all his life after he became master on the death of Cardinal Mazarin. One, which was very sound, was to have no more first minister, and never to admit to his Council any Cardinal, Bishop, or any ecclesiastic, who, in his opinion (which is quite true), might want to make themselves masters of all. . . .

The other maxim was far from good: this was to include in the Councils only men of mediocre strength and ability; anything higher overshadowed him; most of all he feared nobles, who he thought would try to impose upon him, take too much, or improve their station. . . . He wanted people who owed everything to their posts as . . . ministers; whom he could treat as he willed and fire when and how he wanted; who, being nothing in themselves, would fall back into the obscurity whence he had pulled them. Since they would realize this, they would bend every effort to serve him well and to please him. He so persevered in this design that from his accession to power to his death, in fifty years he only included one person of gentle birth in his Council. . . .

The ministers had already sized up the King; little common sense, an almost unbelievable ignorance; a scorn for everybody and everything; a thirst for grandeur, power and glory, which went so far as to brook no rival; a fear of being ruled amounting to a boasting that he was not ruled; a jealous desire to do everything and run everything. . . . His ministers did not hesitate to capitalize on this character. They infatuated him with the idea of his greatness and power in order to exercise this power themselves, as well as to monopolize it. They used this means to bring all the other power under them, and to raise themselves up in comparison with the real nobles by persuading the King that all authority besides their own was a usurpation of his power, which they were only administering.

In order to keep him from mistrusting the government, and at the same time to keep control entirely to themselves, they overwhelmed him with little details, especially since he revelled in petty things. He went after these last with avidity and was able to persuade himself that he alone ruled and did everything himself. Thus the important, big affairs, as well as the more important details, remained in their hands, this fact being concealed by the other details with which they amused him. But even with these precautions they did not feel too sure. His kindness and essential sense of fairness disturbed them and also the access to the King possessed by the most important or the favorite nobles meant that he might be enlightened, thus foiling them. They man-

aged therefore to persuade the King that this accessibility was contrary to his greatness. . . .

Thus we see this monarch grand, rich, conquering, the arbiter of Europe; feared and admired as long as the ministers and captains existed who really deserved the name. When they were no more, the machine kept moving some time by impulsion, and from their influence. But soon afterward we saw beneath the surface; faults and errors were multiplied, and decay came on with giant strides; without, however, opening the eyes of that despotic master, so anxious to do everything and direct everything himself, and who seemed to indemnify himself for disdain abroad by increasing fear and trembling at home.

E. The State and Economic Life

A prosperous and flourishing France was essential to Louis' desire for power and military glory. The man most influential in the effort to achieve this goal was a member of the bourgeoisie, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), who became the greatest of the royal ministers. Colbert was a practitioner of what was later known as mercantilism, one definition of which might be the economic policies, shaped by the conditions of a specific period of time, through which the state tried to increase its power and well-being. The following documents taken from Colbert's voluminous records may help to fill out this loose definition.

A distinct feature of Colbert's mercantilism (often called "Colbertism") was the conviction inherited from the Middle Ages that total world commerce could not be increased beyond specific limits. The nature of absolutism placed still another limitation on commercial expansion. Louis maintained his powerful position in the state partly by balancing the power and privileges of the bourgeoisie against those of the nobility. Social prestige was the prerogative of the nobility. The nobles resented the social and political ambitions of wealthy merchants, who were felt to have received adequate compensation through the accumulation of a personal fortune. So class-conscious were the nobles that they pressured the government into reviving the ancient custom of derogation, *according to which the status of nobility was declared incompatible with trade. Thus ambitious merchants who wished to rise socially were practically compelled to marry into or purchase a title of nobility and consequently give up their business activity.*

—What consequence might such a barrier to the fusion of noble and merchant classes have for France?

—Colbert has been called the first great modern exponent of the controlled economy. Why?

—The Dutch Republic is the focus of attention in Section II. How did "Colbertism" affect French foreign policy? Did it in any way influence Louis' power of decision?

—After studying the documents below, can you define mercantilism in Louis' France?

I. *The Controlled Economy*

1. ROYAL LETTER TO THE MERCHANTS OF MARSEILLES, 1664 (6)

Very dear and well beloved: Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to reëstablish its foreign and domestic commerce, . . . we have resolved to establish a council particularly devoted to commerce, to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufactures.

We also inform you that we are setting apart, in the expenses of our state, a million livres each year for the encouragement of manufactures and the increase of navigation, to say nothing of the considerable sums which we cause to be raised to supply the companies of the East and West Indies;

That we are working constantly to abolish all the tolls which are collected on the navigable rivers;

That there has already been expended more than a million livres for the repair of the public highways, to which we shall devote also our constant attention;

That we will assist by money from our royal treasury all those who wish to reëstablish old manufactures or to undertake new ones;

That we are giving orders to all our ambassadors or residents at the courts of the princes, our allies, to make, in our name, all proper efforts to cause justice to be rendered in all cases involving our merchants, and to assure for them entire commercial freedom;

That we will comfortably lodge at our court each and every merchant who has business there during all the time that he shall be obliged to remain there. . . .

2. TO THE INTENDANTS, 1670 (7)

The King, desiring to remedy the abuses which are committed in the . . . manufactures of France . . . had the goodness to have drawn up general regulations and to have them registered in his presence in his parlement of Paris, August 13, 1669. His Majesty has resolved to send inspectors into all the provinces of his kingdom . . . to inform the judges, the merchants, and the workers of his wishes. . . . That is why, on the express order of his Majesty, we have prepared the following directive. . . . Signed, Colbert.

1. The said inspector shall report to Monsieur — — —, [intendant] of His Majesty. . . .

2. The said inspector, having received his orders from the intendant, will betake himself immediately to the nearest manufacturing center and consult

with the mayor and aldermen; . . . he will ascertain from them if the regulation for manufactures . . . has been registered and published. . . .

3. There will be established a community room in the City Hall . . . where the examiners can see, inspect, and mark the merchandise which will be taken there at set times by the cloth-workers, where they can settle on the spot disputes which might develop because of defects in the said manufactures and instil fear [of the laws] in the minds of the said cloth-workers. . . . And since the merchants have a particular knowledge of the good quality or defects of merchandise, and since it is in their interest that the merchandise be perfect, it will also be necessary that the aldermen elect one of the more prominent merchants to be present at the said inspections and markings. . . .

11. The said inspector will assemble all the . . . [guild] masters in the community room, and will read the said regulation to them [the general regulation concerning textile manufacture of 1669], explaining to them article by article what they must do to carry it out properly, and informing them that if they contravene it that their ruin will surely follow, because their goods will be confiscated and the selvedges torn to bits [causing the cloth to unravel]. . . . Do not neglect to inform [the masters] that the goods of the same name, kind, and quality must be uniform throughout the kingdom in length, width, and strength. . . .

18. The said inspector will inform himself . . . of all the important fairs which will be held in his department and will betake himself there . . . to inspect the said merchandise to see whether it has been marked at the place of manufacture and meets the quality called for by the regulation; if not, to seize and confiscate it and tear the selvedge publicly on the spot. . . . But as it is very important not to disturb the fairs . . . this must be carried out with much prudence . . . on the days and hours most convenient to the sellers and buyers. . . .

27. The said inspectors will give the greatest encouragement to all the masters and cloth-workers . . . to make [their cloth] the most perfect possible in order to strengthen the commerce and manufactures of France and to outstrip foreign competitors. . . .

3. APPRAISAL OF FRENCH BUSINESSMEN (8)

(From Colbert's correspondence) There are no greater enemies of general commerce and of the order which should be established than the merchants of Marseille. . . . The little merchants of Marseille, not believing that there is any commerce other than which passes through their shops, would willingly overturn all general commerce in the hope of a little immediate profit, which would ruin them in the end.

. . . It will be necessary for you to act with care because all merchants as a rule wish to have complete liberty in all that has to do with their trade, and particularly in manufactures of which they wish always to change and reduce the

lengths, widths, and qualities for considerations of some small profit that they make, and which tends to the ruin of manufactures, of which the principle consists, in a state as flourishing and as great as this, in making them always equal in length, width, and goodness. To attain this degree of fidelity, it is necessary to go entirely beyond the motives of little individual interests, which do not deserve consideration in connection with the general motives of the good of the state.

II. *The War of Money*

1. THE LIMITS OF COMMERCE (9)

A. (Memorandum, 1664) It is easy to conclude that in so far as we can cut down on the profits that the Dutch make from the subjects of the King, and the consumption of the goods which they bring us, so far will we increase the ready money which should enter the kingdom through the medium of our necessary goods which we export, and so far will we increase the power, the grandeur, and the prosperity of the state.

B. (Instructions to Intendant in Normandy, 1680) It would be good that you should inform yourself exactly about everything that might aid and increase the fisheries of the kingdom, because it would be much more advantageous to the people and the state that the fish which is consumed within the kingdom should be caught by the subjects of the king rather than gotten from the Dutch and other nations, who are always bringing a quantity of it, and who by this means take much money from the kingdom.

2. MERCANTILISM AND HOLLAND (10)

A. (Memorandum to King, 1669) The commerce of all Europe is carried on by ships of every size to the number of 20,000, and it is perfectly clear that this number cannot be increased, since the number of people in all the states remains the same and consumption likewise remains the same; and that of this number of 20,000 ships the Dutch have 15,000 to 16,000, the English about 3,000 to 4,000 and the French 500 to 600. . . . It must be added that commerce causes a perpetual combat in peace and war among the nations of Europe, as to who shall win the most of it. . . . Commerce is a perpetual and peaceable war of wit and energy among all nations. It is carried on by 20,000 vessels and this number cannot be increased. Each nation works incessantly to have its legitimate share of commerce or to gain an advantage over another nation. The Dutch fight at present, in this war, with 15,000 to 16,000 ships, a government of merchants, all of whose maxims and power are directed solely toward the preservation and increase of their commerce, and much more care, energy, and thrift than any other nation. The English with 3,000 to 4,000 ships, less energy, and care, and more expenditures than the Dutch. The French with 500 to 600. Those

two last cannot improve their commerce save by increasing the number of their vessels, and cannot increase this number save from the 20,000 which carry all the commerce and consequently by making inroads on the 15,000 to 16,000 of the Dutch.

B. (Memorandum to King, 1669) This state is flourishing not only in itself, but also by the want which it has inflicted upon all the other neighboring states. Extreme poverty appears everywhere. There is only Holland which still resists, and its power in money decreases visibly.

C. (Memorandum to King, 1672) If the King conquers all the provinces subject to and forming part of the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, their commerce becoming commerce of the subjects of the King, there would be nothing more to desire; and if afterwards His Majesty, examining what would be most advantageous to do for the commerce of his old and new subjects, thought it for the good of his service to divide the advantages of this commerce by cutting down a part of that of the Dutch so as to transfer it into the hands of the French, it would be easy to find the necessary expedients to which the new subjects would be obliged to submit.

F. Louis XIV and Religious Conformity

Louis XIV, in spite of mistresses, wars, and intrigues, always gave an outward appearance of devout Catholicism. He insisted, however, on freedom from papal interference in temporal affairs. In 1682 he had his bishops approve a reaffirmation of the special privileges that the French Church had received from the Papacy in the aftermath of the Reformation. Louis thus strengthened his claim to divinely created absolutism. He expected that his subjects would conform to the official position and rigorously suppressed movements within the Catholic Church whose religious emphasis tended toward the mystic, such as that of the Jansenists.

Particularly galling to the proud and arrogant monarch was the flourishing Protestant community, which had received widespread political and religious rights in the Edict of Nantes of 1598. Richelieu had destroyed the military power of these French Calvinists, or Huguenots, by demolishing their strongholds in the 1620's. He left them their civic and religious rights, however, and the million or so Huguenots became leaders in commerce, industry, and finance. To Louis the thriving condition of this nonconformist group was an insult to the royal dignity. Urged on by his pious mistress and secret second wife, Madame de Maintenon, he began a campaign to "persuade" the Huguenots to revert to Catholicism. Convinced of the sweeping success of this campaign, he revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685. A third of a million industrious and talented citizens fled into exile. Saint-Simon describes the consequences.

—Colbert, a Catholic, opposed persecution of the Huguenots, and the Edict of Nantes was revoked only after his death in 1683. Can you explain his position?

—What conclusion can be drawn from Louis' statement in the opening paragraphs

of the Revocation that most French Protestants had already embraced the Catholic faith?

Granting Saint-Simon's bias and tendency to over-dramatic description, does his account contain evidence on which to base conclusions about the position of an absolute monarch? What role did Louis play in the elimination of French Protestantism?

1. THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES (11)

Louis, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, to all present and to come, greeting:

King Henry the Great, our grandfather of glorious memory, being desirous that the peace which he had procured for his subjects after the grievous losses they had sustained in the course of domestic and foreign wars, should not be troubled on account of the R.P.R. [*Religion prétendue réformée,* "the religion called the Reformed"], as had happened in the reigns of the kings, his predecessors, by his edict, granted at Nantes in the month of April, 1598, regulated the procedure to be adopted with regard to those of the said religion, and the places in which they might meet for public worship, established extraordinary judges to administer justice to them, and, in fine, provided in particular articles for whatever could be thought necessary for maintaining the tranquility of his kingdom and for diminishing mutual aversion between the members of the two religions, so as to put himself in a better position to labor, as he had resolved to do, for the reunion to the Church of those who had so lightly withdrawn from it. . . .

God having at last permitted that our people should enjoy perfect peace, we . . . are able to profit by this truce (which we ourselves have facilitated), and devote our whole attention to the means of accomplishing the designs of our said grandfather and father, which we have consistently kept before us since our succession to the crown.

And now we perceive, with thankful acknowledgment of God's aid, that our endeavors have attained their proposed end, inasmuch as the better and the greater part of our subjects of the said R.P.R. have embraced the Catholic faith. And since by this fact the execution of the Edict of Nantes and of all that has ever been ordained in favor of the said R.P.R. has been rendered nugatory, we have determined that we can do nothing better, in order wholly to obliterate the memory of the troubles, the confusion, and the evils which the progress of this false religion has caused in this kingdom, and which furnished occasion for the said edict and for so many previous and subsequent edicts and declarations, than entirely to revoke the said Edict of Nantes. . . .

I. . . . In consequence we desire, and it is our pleasure, that all the temples of those of the said R.P.R. situate in our kingdom, countries, territories, and the lordships under our crown, shall be demolished without delay.

II. We forbid our subjects of the R.P.R. to meet any more for the exercise of the said religion in any place or private house, under any pretext whatever, . . .

2. THE EFFECT OF THE REVOCATION: MEMOIRS OF SAINT-SIMON (12)

Devoutness was her [Madame de Maintenon's] strong point; by that she governed and held her place. She found a King who believed himself an apostle, because he had all his life persecuted Jansenism, or what was presented to him as such. This indicated to her with what grain she could sow the field most profitably.

The profound ignorance in which the King had been educated and kept all his life, rendered him from the first an easy prey to the Jesuits. He became even more so with years, when he grew devout, for he was devout with the grossest ignorance. Religion became his weak point. In this state it was easy to persuade him that a decisive and tremendous blow struck against the Protestants would give his name more grandeur than any of his ancestors had acquired, besides strengthening his power and increasing his authority. Madame de Maintenon was one of those who did most to make him believe this.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions that followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new spouse was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm, ruined its commerce, weakened it in every direction, gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons, authorized torments and punishments by which so many innocent people of both sexes were killed by thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands, made those lands flourish and overflow at the expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed, stripped, fugitive, wandering, without crime, and seeking shelter far from its country; sent to the galleys nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, and virtue, people well off, weak, delicate, and solely on account of religion; in fact, to heap up the measure of horror, filled all the realm with perjury and sacrilege, in the midst of the echoed cries of these unfortunate victims of error, while so many others sacrificed their conscience to their wealth and their repose, and purchased both by simulated abjuration, from which without pause they were dragged to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive the divine body of the Saint of Saints while remaining persuaded that they were only eating bread which they ought to abhor! . . .

The King received from all sides news and details of these persecutions and of these conversions. It was by thousands that those who had abjured and taken the communion were counted; ten thousand in one place; six thousand in another,—all at once and instantly. The King congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have renewed the days of the preaching of the Apostles, and attributed to himself all the honor. The bishops wrote panegyrics of him, the Jesuits made the pulpit resound with his praises.

All France was filled with horror and confusion; and yet there never was so much triumph and joy—never such profusion of laudations! The monarch doubted not of the sincerity of this crowd of conversions; the converters took good care to persuade him of it and beatify him beforehand. He swallowed their poison in long draughts. He had never yet believed himself so great in the eyes of man, or so advanced in the eyes of God, in the reparation of his sins and of the scandals of his life. . . .

G. A Critic's View of Absolutism

One of the most bitter critics of royal absolutism was a man who had enjoyed the highest favor of the Sun King. Archbishop Fénelon of Cambrai (1651-1715) had been tutor to Louis' grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. His growing concern with the direction of affairs caused his retirement into the country. In 1694 he addressed an anonymous letter of protest to Louis XIV, who, it is thought, never received it. Two excerpts from the letter follow.

1. ARCHBISHOP FÉNELON (13)

. . . For some thirty years, your chief ministers have shaken and overturned all the ancient maxims of the state so as to increase your authority beyond all bounds because this authority had become their own since it was in their hands. They spoke no longer of the state or the rules; they spoke only of the king and his pleasure. They steadily increased both your revenues and your expenses. They exalted you to the heavens, in order to efface, they said, the grandeur of all your predecessors together, which is another way of saying that they have impoverished all of France in order to introduce a monstrous and incurable extravagance into the court. They wished to set you up on the ruins of all the social classes in the state—as if you might become great by ruining all the subjects on whom your greatness is founded. It is true that you have been jealous of your authority, but at bottom each minister has been master within his administrative area. You believed that you were governing because you regulated the limits of power among those who governed. They displayed their power before the public: it was felt only too well. They have been harsh, haughty, unjust, violent and dishonest. They have known no other rule of conduct, either in internal or foreign affairs, except to threaten, crush and destroy all those who offered opposition. They talked matters over with you only in order to dispel any feelings on your part which might later cause resentment. They accustomed you to receiving unending, extravagant praise approaching idolatry, which you, for the sake of your honor, should have rejected with indignation. They have made your name odious and the French nation insufferable to all our neighbors. They have not held to us a single of our ancient allies, since they only wanted slaves. They have caused more than twenty years of bloody wars. . . .

Meanwhile your people, whom you should love like your children and who up until now have been so fond of you, are dying of hunger. Agriculture is almost abandoned; the cities and the countryside are depopulated; all crafts are languishing and no longer sustain the workers. Commerce is in a state of ruin. You have consequently destroyed half of the real power within your state in order to win and defend vain conquests abroad. Instead of extracting money from the poor people, you ought to give them alms and sustenance. All France is nothing but a great poorhouse without provisions. The magistrates are demeaned and overworked. The nobility, all of whose wealth flows from royal decrees, live solely on state grants. You are importuned by a mob of people who beg and grumble. It is you, Sire, who have called down upon yourself all these difficulties; for you have everything in your own hands since the kingdom is in ruins and therefore no one can live without gifts from you. This is the state of affairs in this great kingdom, so flourishing under a king who is described to us each day as the delight of the people, and who would be this in reality if flattering advice had not misled him. . . .

Questions for Thought

What is the greatest shortcoming of absolutism? Can Fénelon's criticism be applied to the activities of other absolute rulers? Do you think democracies avoid this danger? Where does too great a reliance on bureaucracy and the power of absolute decision lead?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) R. Mousnier, *Les XVIe et XVIIe siècles* in *Histoire Générale des Civilizations* (Paris, 1954), IV, 230-36. Reprinted by permission of Presses Universitaires de France (trans. LFS).
(2) J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (New York, 1906), II, 273-77. Reprinted by permission of Blaisdell Publishing Company, a division of Ginn and Company.
(3) *A King's Lessons in Statecraft: Louis XIV; Letters to his Heirs,* trans. by Herbert Wilson (London, 1924), pp. 48-50. Reprinted by permission of Ernest Benn Ltd., successor to Fisher Unwin.
(4) Duc de Saint-Simon, *Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency,* trans. Bayle St. John (Washington, 1901), III, pp. 30-37.
(5) *Ibid.,* II, 359-60, 364-65.
(6) Robinson, *op. cit.,* pp. 279-80.
(7) P. Clément, ed., *Lettres Instructions et Memoirs de Colbert* in *Readings in European History,* ed. by L. Bernard and T. Hodges (New York, 1958), pp. 280-81. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.
(8) C. W. Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (New York, 1939), I, 334. Reprinted by permission of The Columbia University Press.
(9) *Ibid.,* pp. 436, 472.
(10) *Ibid.,* pp. 343, 344, 446.
(11) Robinson, *op. cit.,* pp. 287-91.
(12) Saint-Simon, *op. cit.,* III, 12-14.
(13) A. Caron and J. Gosselin, eds., *Oeuvres de Fénelon, Archevêque de Cambrai* (Paris, 1827), XXIV, 334-35, 338 (trans. LFS).

PART II

The Failure of Absolutism: The Revolution of 1688

Royal absolutism, while reigning unchallenged in France, met a sharp and final defeat in England in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, the bloodless uprising that replaced King James II with his daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, and erased forever royal claims to a divine right to rule. The revolution made it strikingly clear that the new monarchs owed their title not to blood royal but to the decision of Parliament, a fact crucial to the future political development of England. Since the social, economic, and political factors which shaped this development were already present in the events of 1688, the reasons why the revolution occurred and why it was such a quick success have broad historical significance. To discover these reasons is the main purpose of the present problem.

The Glorious Revolution was the culmination of a half century of struggle between King and Parliament, which had led to civil war in the 1640's, the execution of King Charles I, a military dictatorship, and a short-lived republic before a return to the monarchy. Spearhead of the opposition to royal authority had been the Puritan commercial middle classes and gentry, who were adversely affected by Stuart financial and religious policies. For a decade extremist elements among the Puritans, buttressed by the army controlled by Oliver Cromwell, triumphed and imposed their strait-laced moral code on a resentful majority. The republic steadily lost support even among the more moderate Puritans, and with the death of the strong man, Cromwell, in 1658 sentiment in support of the restoration of the monarchy soon brought back the son of the beheaded Charles I.

Yet despite all the joyous acclaim of 1660, Charles II returned to an England vastly different from that preceding the Civil War. The revolutionary years had strongly affected land tenure. Royalists had often been compelled to sell their property to Puritans in order to meet heavy tax exactions. The Puritans, now called Dissenters, a term that included Protestants who were outside the Church of England, were generally permitted to retain such property under the Restoration. At the same time, the free exercise of their religious beliefs was stringently restricted, and their political influence was curbed by the enactment by the pro-Anglican parliament of severe measures known as the Clarendon Code. Dissenters and Roman Catholics were excluded from civil and military posts by the requirement that office holders take the sacraments of the Anglican

Church. This meant that regardless of financial or social position non-Anglicans were unable to participate in the government.

While not an absolute ruler like Louis XIV, Charles II (1660-1685) retained considerable power. He could still influence the election of his supporters to Parliament, although, unlike his predecessors, he could not enact measures of taxation without Parliamentary consent. As it turned out, Charles did not need to call Parliament into session frequently, because he received secret financial support from Louis XIV, his host when he had been in exile. Nonetheless, controversy with Parliament occupied much of the latter years of his reign. Religion continued to generate violent feeling among Englishmen; the fact that the heir to the throne, Charles' brother James, was an acknowledged Catholic led to an attempt to exclude him from the succession by those who wanted parliamentary limitation on the king. Disagreement on the issue accelerated the development of political parties. The supporters of the king, who backed the principle of hereditary succession and the royal prerogative, became known as Tories and were made up largely of the court, church and country gentry interests. Their opponents, the Whigs, sought increased parliamentary responsibility and religious toleration for other Protestants, a goal which appealed particularly to the middle-class Dissenters. But in the matter of the succession King and Tories proved victorious; some leading Whigs even had to flee the country.

The reign of James II began auspiciously in 1685. The king's first public proclamation stressed his intention to abide by the existing laws and avoid the use of arbitrary power. His first Parliament numbered more members favorable to the royal position than any since 1661, and an abortive attempt by the Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, at armed rebellion in Western England actually strengthened his parliamentary support. The question of the king's Roman Catholicism remained, but in 1685 there was no real sense of alarm, for it was generally believed that a Protestant would soon occupy the throne; James had no children by his second and Catholic wife while two daughters survived from his first and Protestant marriage. The Church of England too was strongly loyal to the king; the alliance of clergymen who preached submission to civil authority with a ruler who supported them in their powers and privileges was both logical and time-honored.

Within three years, however, opposition to James had grown to the point that a group of prominent Whigs and Tories sent a secret appeal to William of Orange to undertake an invasion of England. William had shown a keen interest in English events since his marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677. Deeply involved with the threat to Holland from Louis XIV, he fervently desired that England be detached from her covert tie to France so that she might be found on the side of the Dutch in any further encounter with the French. Although William had been in contact with sympathizers in England for some time, any plans he may have had prior to 1688 to interfere directly in English affairs are unknown. But he quickly accepted the appeal.

Louis XIV was preoccupied in Germany. William and his forces successfully landed on the English coast. The royal army proved disloyal, its leaders

defected to William, and James fled in panic across the Channel to take refuge at the French court. Parliament later declared that James had abdicated and approved William's demand that he and his wife rule jointly, but it also asserted its position as the center of power by making explicit in the Bill of Rights of 1689 what was implicit in Magna Carta: the king reigned under law. The Toleration Act of 1689, while still withholding political rights, guaranteed religious freedom to most Dissenters. A Triennial Act in 1694 provided that Parliamentary elections must be held at least every three years, thus making it impossible for any future monarch to avoid calling the legislators into session. Finally, by the Act of Settlement in 1701, Parliament laid down the terms of the succession of Protestant rulers to the throne. The triumph of Parliament over the monarchy was complete.

The readings which follow illuminate the course of the three-year reign of James II and of the assertion of Parliamentary power that followed it. The student should consider the reasons why a legitimate monarch, with such a reserve of power and prestige at the outset of his reign, could be supplanted so easily within so short a time.

A. James II, Stuart King of England

In order to understand the Revolution of 1688 one needs to know the personality of the king himself. Below are two descriptions of James Stuart. The first is by Bishop Gilbert Burnet, who left England at the outset of the reign and lived at the court of William of Orange. His History of My Own Times *is one of the best contemporary sources on the later Stuarts. The second description is by Francis C. Turner, whose biography of James II was published in 1948.*

—What relevant traits of character are apparent in each of these analyses?
—How much of Burnet's account is borne out by details in Turner's treatment of James?

1. BISHOP BURNET ON JAMES II (1)

. . . During his stay in France he made some campaigns under Mr. de Turenne [the great French marshal], who took him so particularly under his care, . . . that he had great advantages of being formed under the greatest general of the age. Turenne was so much taken with his application, and the heat that he showed, that he recommended him out of measure. He said often of him, There was the greatest prince, and like to be the best general of his time. This raised his character so much, that the king was not a little eclipsed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. . . . And in the end of his life he came to lose the reputation of a brave man and a good captain so entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unusual change on him. . . . He had no vivacity of thought,

invention or expression; but he had a good judgment where his religion or his education gave him not a bias, which it did very often. He was bred with strange notions of the obedience due to princes, and came to take up as strange ones of the submission due to priests. He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity and justice; but his religion was so infused in him, and he was so managed in it by his priests, that the principles which nature had laid in him had little power over him when the concerns of his church stood in the way.

He was a gentle master, and was very easy to all who came near to him; yet he was not so apt to pardon as one ought to be that is the viceregent of that God who is slow to anger and ready to forgive. He had no personal vices but of one sort: he was still wandering from one amour to another. Yet he had a real sense of sin, and was ashamed of it, but priests know how to engage princes more entirely into their interests by making them compound for their sins by a great zeal for the holy church, as they call it.

In a word, if it had not been for his popery he would have been, if not a great, yet a good prince. . . .

2. TURNER ON JAMES II (2)

. . . James's mind resembled in many ways that of his father: he desired, not only that the power of the King should be real, but that it should be manifestly real; while, however, the father sought power for its own sake, the son, in addition, valued power as a means to the accomplishment of the passionately desired object of his life: the conversion of England to the Roman Church. As long as his brother was alive . . . his endeavors to extend the power of the Crown were unremitting, and he regarded the Tory reaction which followed the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March 1681 as a final triumph for the monarchy. This misconception is but one of many examples of his incompetence in political judgment and his inability to gain knowledge from experience; his political and religious obsessions blinded him to the dangers which he had to avoid. . . .

There can be little doubt that at the time of his accession James was suffering from premature mental decline, a decline which had set in some four years earlier when he was in Scotland. He had never been given credit for superior mental equipment, but he would probably not have been noticeably inferior to his neighbors if he had lived as a country gentleman. . . . In February 1685 he was little more than fifty-one years of age, and should have been at the height of his mental powers; and it is difficult to avoid a suggestion that in the sexual excesses of his youth he had incurred infection which had resulted in a fairly common mental disease. . . . Be the reason what it may, the chief symptom of this disease was present in James to a marked degree: extreme haughtiness and arrogance, and exaggeration of his kingly office which was even more an application to his own person of the veneration he had felt for Charles, a total absence of misgiving, amounting to foolhardiness, in regard to the consequences of his

actions. . . . He did indeed control his natural impatience at the beginning of his reign, especially in the first three months, but before he had been on the throne a year, he had lost all sense of proportion and balance. . . .

B. The Position of the English Crown in 1685

Despite the long tradition of limitations on arbitrary government since Magna Carta, the seventeenth-century English kings still possessed a large number of prerogative powers bound up with their position as monarchs. The following contemporary account is an attempt by Sir William Petty, an early "social scientist," to summarize the powers of the king in 1685.

—How great was the power of the crown?
—To what extent might royal appointees affect the governing of the realm?

1. THE POWERS OF THE KING OF ENGLAND (3)

• • • • •

2. The king makes peers in Parliament, who are perpetual legislators, as also the last and highest judicature of England and Ireland, and have great immunities for themselves and servants.

3. The king is the fountain of honour, titles and precedencies. . . .

4. The king makes bishops, and they priests and deacons and clerks of the convocation and has also all the power which the Pope had formerly. . . .

5. The king makes the chancellors of the universities, makes heads and fellows in several colleges, and is also visitor in some cases. . . .

7. The king makes sheriffs and they juries upon life and estate, limb and liberty, as also jailors, bailiffs and executioners of all sorts.

8. The king makes a Chancellor, or chief judge in equity, who stops proceedings in other courts of law &c. The Chancellor makes justices of the peace, and they high and petty constables and sessions of peace &c.

9. The king makes judges . . . and the king can suspend the law, pardon or prosecute.

10. The king can give charters for boroughs to Parliament; appoint electors and judges of elections; prorogue, adjourn and dissolve Parliaments from time to time and from place to place; . . .

11. The king appoints his lieutenants to command the grand standing militia, can press any man to serve his allies beyond seas as soldiers, . . .

13. The king has great power over forests and mines, colonies, monopolies.

14. The king can do no wrong, and his coming to the Crown clears him from all punishments. . . .

15. The king, by ceasing or forbearing to administer the several powers above named, can do what harm he pleases to his subjects.

C. The Roman Catholic Problem

Early in James' reign a renewal of Catholic-Protestant conflict appeared dramatically in France, when Louis XIV repealed the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed French Protestants some religious freedom. The excerpt from the diary of Sir John Evelyn describes English reaction to the repeal.

James soon began to appoint Roman Catholics to key offices in the state, circumventing the law against doing so by exercising his "dispensing power" of suspending penal statutes. He introduced his coreligionists into the armed forces, the courts, the House of Lords, and local governmental offices. The nature of the sovereign's dispensing power may be seen below in the decision in the case of Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic army officer. Hales was brought to trial in a test of the king's right to use the dispensing power.

Encouraged by his success with such appointments, James next set up a special court under royal control to deal with religious matters and used it to place his own men in university positions traditionally held by Anglicans. These measures cost him heavily in Anglican support. In 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which, while granting toleration to Catholic worship, also granted toleration to the much more numerous Dissenters. The public reaction to the trial of the seven bishops who protested against the Declaration is shown in two contemporary accounts, the first from Evelyn's diary and the second written by Sir John Reresby, a Tory official. The acquittal of the seven bishops on charges of seditious libel was one of two notable public events of June, 1688; the second was the birth of a son to the queen. A Roman Catholic dynasty was now assured.

—What can account for the reaction in England to the repeal of the Edict of Nantes?
—What is the significance of the judgment handed down in the Hales Case?
—What effect might the king have hoped to achieve by the Declaration of Indulgence?
—What was the impact on public opinion of the trial of the seven bishops?

1. EVELYN'S DIARY ON THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, 1685 (4)

3d November, 1685. The French persecution of the Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what the very heathens used: innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispersed through all the countries of Europe. . . . In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispersed some hundred thousands; besides those in England, where, though multitudes of all degree sought for shelter and welcome as distressed Christians and confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and the uncharitable indifference of such as should have embraced them. . . . One

thing was much taken notice of, that the "Gazettes" which were still constantly printed twice a week, informing us what was done all over Europe, never spoke of this wonderful proceeding in France; nor was any relation of it published by any, save what private letters and persecuted fugitives brought. Whence this silence, I list not to conjecture; but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered, while great collections were made for them in foreign places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

2. GODDEN VS. HALES, 1686 (5)

. . . We were satisfied in our judgments before, and having concurrence of eleven out of twelve [justices] we think we may very well declare the opinion of the court to be that the king may dispense in this case; and the judges go upon these grounds:—

(1) That the kings of England are sovereign princes;

(2) That the laws of England are the king's laws:

(3) That therefore it is an inseparable prorogative in the kings of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases and upon particular reasons;

(4) That of those reasons and those necessities the king himself is sole judge; and then, which is consequent upon all,

(5) That this is not a trust invested on or granted to the king by the people, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power and prorogative of the kings of England, which never yet was taken from them nor can be. . . .

3. DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, 1687 (6)

. . . There is nothing now that we can so earnestly desire as to establish our government on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us by inclination as well as duty; which we think can be done by no means so effectually as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come, and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been in any case invaded by us since our coming to the crown. . . .

We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church. Yet we humbly thank Almighty God it is, and hath of long time been our constant sense and opinion . . . that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion. . . .

We therefore, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit by virtue of our royal prorogative to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament when we shall think it convenient for them to meet.

In the first place we do declare that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England in the full exercise of their religion as by law established. . . .

We do likewise declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to Church, or for not receiving the sacrament, or for other noncomformity to the religion established, or for or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended; and the further execution of the said penal laws and every of them is hereby suspended. . . .

We do hereby further declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that the oaths commonly called the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations . . . shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed to by any person or persons whatsoever, who is or shall be employed in an office or place of trust, either civil or military, under us or in our government. . . .

4. EVELYN'S DIARY ON THE BISHOPS' TRIAL, 1688 (7)

8th June 1688. This day, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give bail for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience; they refused to give bail, as it would have prejudiced their peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderful, infinite crowds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them, as they passed out of the barge along the Tower wharf. . . .

. . . 29th June, 1688. They appeared; the trial lasted from nine in the morning to past six in the evening . . . they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from King's Bench to the waterside on their knees, as the Bishops passed and repassed, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of nearly sixty Earls and Lords, etc., on the bench, did not a little comfort them; but indeed they were all along full of comfort and cheer.

5. SIR JOHN RERESBY, 15 JUNE 1688 (8)

Westminster hall, the Palace yards, and all the streets about were thronged with infinite people, whose loud shouts and joyful acclamations, upon hearing the bishops were acquitted, were a very rebellion in noise, though far from either in fact or intention. Bonfires were made, not only in the city of London, but in most of the towns of England, as soon as the news reached them; though there were strict and general orders given out to prevent all such doings . . .

the next day I waited on the king to camp at Hounslow-heath, where everybody observed him to labour under a very great disturbance of mind. . . .

D. The Middle Classes

It is difficult to document the role of the middle classes in the Revolution. Many were Dissenters, excluded from politics by the Clarendon Code, which gave them no choice but to concentrate on commercial concerns. Subject to religious persecution also, they might have been expected to welcome James' Declaration of Indulgence. Hundreds were indeed released from prisons in 1687. But widespread Dissenter support did not materialize. The excerpts below from books by two social historians, Richard B. Schlatter of Harvard and the late George Macaulay Trevelyan of Cambridge, provide information that may shed light on middle class action in 1688.

—Would the middle classes be more likely to support King or Parliament in the struggle for authority between the two? Why?

1. SCHLATTER: THE MIDDLE CLASSES AND FREEDOM (9)

In general the philosophy of individualism, whether in religion or economics, was on the road to becoming dominant. No statement could show more clearly the connexion between religious and economic demands for freedom from external control. It was not a chance coincidence that opinion in favour of governmental control of industry, and the monopoly of religion by the Church of England, declined simultaneously. The tender conscience was the enemy of medieval guilds and Stuart patents of monopoly.

The connexion was specifically noticed by John Rogers, chaplain to the Earl of Berkeley, in a sermon before the Corporation of Trinity House [1681]. England, he said, has been blessed by a gracious Lord with harbours, naval stores, and a geographic position, fitted to make her the leading commercial nation of the world. Moreover, a wise king and a good government take great care to regulate and direct trade. Admitting that there were many objections to such regulation, of which he lacked the knowledge to judge, Rogers added that 'it is to be feared that the great outcry for liberty of trade is near of kin to that of liberty of conscience, which to our sorrows we have experienced was only a politick fetch of a party to lay all in common, till such time as they could get sufficient power and strength to inclose all for themselves. . . .' In other words, economic and religious freedom was demanded by a *bourgeoisie* which desired power, but which was not yet strong enough to annihilate its opponents. Probably preferring authority and uniformity, Rogers apparently suspected that those men who complained of regulation and control were not altogether sincere: they spoke of principles, and demanded liberty as a good in itself, but in reality they wanted freedom as an opportune means to a very concrete end. . . .

2. TREVELYAN: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND CLASS (10)

The dissenting congregations . . . were made up of men who prided themselves on their independence. . . . Some of the Dissenters were poor artisans like John Bunyan; others, especially in London and Bristol, were wealthy merchants who could have bought up the [Anglican] squires who persecuted them. And often such merchants did in fact buy out needy gentlemen, after accumulating mortgages on their land. In the next generation the dissenting merchant's son would be a squire and a churchman. Yet another generation, and the ladies of the family would be talking with contempt of all who attended meeting-houses or engaged in trade! . . .

Though the upper class was now substantially one in the form of its religious observance, it was divided politically into Whigs and Tories. The Tories, who were far the most numerous, sought to extirpate religious Dissent and to make the Anglican Church coextensive with the nation. But the Whig Peers and gentry, an able and wealthy minority, advocated the new doctrine of Toleration, at least for all Protestants. They derived their political power from alliance with the Puritans of the industrial and commercial regions, who were able to control the municipal and Parliamentary elections in many boroughs. The Tories, like the Cavaliers before them, were the section of society that stood most whole-heartedly in the old ways of rural England. The Whigs, like their Roundhead fathers, were usually those members of the landowning class who were in close touch with commercial men and commercial interests. And, therefore Whig rather than Tory policies stood to gain in the long run by the continuous process of economic change, as it moved with gradually accelerating momentum towards an agricultural and industrial revolution which would leave only too little of the ancient ways.

E. William, Prince of Orange

One man who had an excellent opportunity to observe the Dutch ruler with historical competence, if not with impartiality, was Bishop Burnet. The first document is an account of William's personality and views on religion from Burnet's History. *The second document is the invitation to William to come to England at the end of June 1688.*

—What do William's religious views reveal about his character?
—What is striking about the tone and manner in which the Invitation is phrased?

1. BURNET ON WILLIAM OF ORANGE (11)

The prince has been much neglected in his education; for all his life long he hated constraint. He spoke little. He put on some appearance of application.

. . . The depression of France was the governing passion of his whole life. . . . He had a way that was affable and obliging to the Dutch. But he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the English, his coldness and slowness being very contrary to the genius of the nation. . . . I asked his sense of the church of England. He said he liked our worship well, and our government in the church. . . . When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he said, that was all he would ever desire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home. He also promised to me, that he should never be prevailed with to set up the Calvinistical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine some might drive him. . . . I thought it necessary to enter with him into all these particulars, that so I might be furnished from his own mouth to give a full account of his sense to some in England, who would expect it of me, and would be disposed to believe what I should assure them of. . . .

2. LETTER OF INVITATION TO WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 30 JUNE 1688 (12)

. . . We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our deliverance. But although these be our wishes, yet we will by no means put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time and of the difficulties which appear to us.

As to the first, the people are generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government with relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all of which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change, and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it. . . . It is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak of them beforehand, . . . whereas we do upon very good grounds believe that their army then would be very much divided among themselves, many of the officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for subsistence (besides that some of their minds are known already), and very many of the common soldiers do daily shew such an aversion to the popish religion that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters which would come from them should there be such an occasion; and amongst the seamen it is almost certain there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. . . .

If upon due consideration of all these circumstances your Highness shall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at least to make such preparations for it as necessary (which we wish you may), there must be no more time

lost in letting us know your resolution concerning it, . . . We need not say anything about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c., because if you think fit to put anything in execution you will provide enough of these kinds and will take care to bring some good engineers with you. . . .

SIGNED

Shrewsbury [WHIG]
Devonshire [WHIG]
Danby [TORY]
Lumley [TORY]
Bishop of London [TORY]
Russell [WHIG]
Sidney [WHIG]

F. The Bill of Rights, 1689

The Bill of Rights of 1689 presents a summary of many of the fundamental liberties of the English citizen. It represented one of the conditions to which William of Orange assented in order to acquire the English crown.

—What were the specific grievances against James II?
—In what way was the Bill of Rights a continuation of the "myth" of Magna Carta?

1. BILL OF RIGHTS (13)

. . . And whereas the said James the Second having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, diverse principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written . . . for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament . . . being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation . . . do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare;

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without the consent of parliament, is illegal.
2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.
3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commission and courts of like nature are illegal and pernicious.
4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative without the grant of parliament, for a longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all committments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.
6. That the raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against the law. . . .
8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.
9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.
10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. . . .

G. Three Interpretations of the Causes for the Revolution

Below are printed three interpretations, all written by English authorities in the 1930's, of the Revolution of 1688. The first is by Harold Laski, a political scientist. The second account is from a book by Sir Charles Petrie, a specialist on the Stuart dynasty. The final account was the introduction to a book by Trevelyan.

—Is Laski's interpretation of the Revolution an oversimplification?
—Contrast Petrie's and Trevelyan's interpretations of the Glorious Revolution. Which one comes closer to what you consider the real causes of the Revolution of 1688?
—What information would one need to decide finally on the best interpretation?

1. HAROLD LASKI (14)

In the period between the Reformation and the French Revolution a new social class established its title to a full share in the control of the state. In its ascent to power, it broke down the barriers which, in all spheres of life save the ecclesiastical, had made privilege a function of status, and associated the idea of rights with the tenure of land. To achieve its end, it effected a fundamental change in the legal relationships of men.

Status was replaced by contract as the juridical foundation of society. Uniformity of religious belief gave way to a variety of faiths in which even scepticism found a right to expression. The vague medieval empire of *jus divinum* and *jus naturale* gave way to the concrete and irresistible power of national sovereignty. The control of politics by an aristocracy whose authority was built upon the tenure of land came to be shared with men whose influence was derived solely from the ownership of movable capital. The banker, the trader, the manufacturer, began to replace the landowner, the ecclesiastic, and the warrior, as the types of predominant social influence. The city, with its restless passion for change, replaced the countryside, with its hatred of innovation, as the primary source of legislation. Slowly, but, nevertheless, irresistibly, science replaced reli-

gion as the controlling factor in giving shape to the thoughts of men. The idea of a golden age in the past, with its concomitant idea of original sin, gave way to the doctrine of progress, with its own concomitant idea of perfectibility through reason. The idea of social initiative and social control surrendered to the idea of individual initiative and individual control. New material conditions, in short, gave birth to new social relationships; and, in terms of these, a new philosophy was evolved to afford a rational justification for the new world which had come into being. This new philosophy was liberalism; . . .

English constitutionalism in the seventeenth century makes its specific contribution to the liberal idea in two ways. On the one hand it seeks to lay down rules by which the character of authority must be guided; on the other it seeks to infuse these rules with the idea that their end is the protection of the citizen from interference outside the course of law. To secure this constitutionalism, further, it seeks to deprive the sovereign power of the two main instruments by which despotism becomes possible—control of the armed forces of the state and of finance. The Revolution of 1688 was only the completion of the objects aimed at in the middle-class rebellion which Cromwell headed against the attempted Stuart despotism. Habeas corpus, triennial parliaments to be dominated by political parties one of which will be the constant ally of the commercial interest, religious freedom within wide limits, the abolition of government control of the press, a judiciary independent of the executive power in the performance of its legal function, finance and the army in control of an elected legislature, with these achievements the English merchant may sleep comfortably in his bed. His property is safe alike from the assault of state and Church for the simple reason that, equally with the country gentleman, he now has at last his hands on the levers of political power. In the full sense, he is a person, able to make and unmake governments. He has not only willed order; he has decided what purposes that order is to shape. . . .

[This achievement] was made possible by revolution, and there was a period, under Cromwell, when that revolution seemed likely to travel much farther than its authors desired. They sought a limited monarchy; they achieved it, but only after a brief experiment with republicanism. By achieving it they built the solution they effected upon the basis of an alliance between the aristocracy and the middle class. The landowner and the man of commerce went into partnership at the Revolution to exploit possibilities in which the interest of both urban worker and landless peasant were only indirectly involved. After 1688 there is no threat in England from the middle class to the fundamental lines of the compromise then effected. . . .

[This] was an England which did not doubt . . . that political power follows upon economic power, that, also, in a generation, was to accept the dictum that there is no civil liberty which does not include religious liberty as well. Even the revival, under the later Stuarts, of the Divine Right of Kings is merely a passing phase; as soon as James II threatens the security of the Church of England, Dean Sherlock shows that a good Anglican can argue as well upon one as upon the other side of the question. What disappears in the first half of

the seventeenth century is enthusiasm for any regulation of social and economic life which does not emanate from Parliament. It had been tried and found unsafe. It threatened prosperity by injuring security and impairing initiative. It stood in the way of what men could achieve if they were left to themselves. Parliament was a different matter. When it acted it stood for the solid and substantial part of the nation. Its control was hardly resented because, at least by responsible delegation, it was a self-imposed control.

2. SIR CHARLES PETRIE (15)

While Mary was the heir to the throne those who were dissatisfied with James felt that they could afford to wait a few years to undo what he had done; after all, the king was in his fifty-fifth year, and as Charles II had died at that age, his expectation of life was not great. Now, however, there was a Prince of Wales, the situation was completely changed, and the perpetuation of a Catholic dynasty was assured. William, who probably did not care whether the King of England were a Catholic or a Protestant, provided that the kingdom itself was numbered among the enemies of France, foresaw a long period of English neutrality, and so resolved that the time had come to strike. For him it was now or never. . . .

The Revolution was the work of a minority, and of a comparatively small minority at that. It was not the result of a national rising against a hated and tyrannical monarch, for, as has been said, had James kept his head he might have kept his crown as well. It was rather due to a discontented faction, more powerful than numerous, which found an energetic and capable leader, and achieved its purpose by the rapidity of its movements. The Whigs, in short, were efficient, and the Jacobites [supporters of James] were not, and this fact explains the victory of the one and the defeat of the other. . . .

It is quite clear that the prevalent feeling in 1688 was one of apathy, for James did not arouse the same enthusiasm that his father and brother had done. Indeed, it would almost appear that the battle over the Exclusion Bill had exhausted the political energy of the English people, for the dynastic struggle which began with the Revolution left the mass of the population curiously indifferent, which would certainly not have been the case had the fall of the Stuarts been the result of a popular movement.

At the same time, William was favored by an amount of luck that in retrospect seems almost uncanny. Shrewd judge of character that he was, he had probably gauged the weakness of his father-in-law and had calculated that he would leave the kingdom, though the pusillanimity of James in the hour of crisis clearly took most of his contemporaries by surprise. . . .

Enough has been said of James II to give the clue to his character. None of the more serious charges that were once brought against him can be proved, and his blunders were very clearly due to the limitations of his intellect. Although he was, of all men, the most loyal to his friends, he lacked those

qualities that induce the public to forgive their possessor a multitude of sins, and he was not, as the Spaniards say, *simpatico*. Yet his aim, religious toleration, was a noble one, and in pursuing it he was in advance of his age. Unfortunately he committed so many mistakes in the way in which he attempted to accomplish it, that he raised widespread suspicion as to his motives. . . .

The final verdict would appear likely that he was right in his object, but wrong in the means he employed to achieve it. . . . In fine, James reigned too late to restore Catholic supremacy in the British Isles, and too early to establish religious toleration without the greatest difficulty, and, given his character, his ultimate failure as a monarch was thus inevitable.

3. GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN (16)

. . . Why do historians regard the Revolution of 1688 as important? And did it deserve the title of "glorious" which was long its distinctive epithet? "The Sensible Revolution" would perhaps have been a more appropriate title and certainly would have distinguished it more clearly as among other revolutions. . . .

The Seven Bishops whom James II prosecuted were milder and more conservative men than the Five Members whom Charles I attempted to arrest, yet the second story reads much like a repetition of the first: in both cases the King rashly attacks popular leaders who are protected by the law, and by the mass opinion of the capital. In both cases the King's downfall shortly follows. Much else indeed is very different: there is no English Civil War on the second occasion, for in 1688 even the Cavaliers (renamed Tories) were against the King. But the men of the Revolution, James and William, Danby, Halifax, Sancroft, Dundee, are manipulating forces, parties and ideas which had first been evoked in the days of Laud, Strafford, Pym, Hampden, Hyde, Cromwell, Rupert, Milton and Montrose. In the later Revolution there are no new ideas, for even Toleration had been eagerly discussed round Cromwell's camp-fires. But in 1688 there is a very different grouping of the old parties, and a new and happier turn is given to the old issues, in England, though not in Ireland, by compromise, agreement and toleration. An heroic age raises questions, but it takes a sensible age to solve them. Roundheads and Cavaliers, high in hope, had broken up the soil, but the Whigs and Tories soberly garnered the harvest.

A certain amount of disillusionment helps to make men wise, and by 1688 men had been doubly disillusioned, first by the rule of the Saints under Cromwell, and then by the rule of the Lord's Anointed under James. Above all, taught by experience, men shrank from another civil war. The burnt child fears the fire. The merit of this Revolution lay not in the shouting and the tumult, but in the still, small voice of prudence and wisdom that prevailed through all the din.

The true "glory" of the Revolution lies not in the minimum of violence which was necessary for its success, but in the way of escape from violence which the Revolution Settlement found for future generations of Englishmen.

There is nothing specially glorious in the victory which our ancestors managed to win, with the aid of foreign arms, over an ill-advised king who forced an issue with nine-tenths of his English subjects on the fundamentals of law, politics and religion. To have been beaten at such odds would have been national ignominy indeed. The "glory" of that brief and bloodless campaign lies with William, who laid deep and complicated plans and took great risks in coming over at all, rather than with the English who had only to throw up their caps for him with sufficient unanimity when once he and his troops had landed. But it is England's true glory that the cataclysm of James's overthrow was not accompanied by the shedding of English blood either on the field or on the scaffold. The political instincts of our people appeared in the avoidance of a second Civil War, for which all the elements were present. Our enemy Louis XIV of France had confidently expected that another long period of confusion and strife would ensue in our factious island if William should land there; if he had thought otherwise, he could have threatened the frontiers of Holland, and so prevented his rival from setting sail at all. . . .

Whig and Tory, having risen together in rebellion against James, seized the fleeting moment of their union to fix a new-old form of Government, known in history as the Revolution Settlement. Under it, England has lived at peace within herself ever since. The Revolution Settlement in Church and State proved to have the quality of permanence. It stood almost unaltered until the era of the Reform Bill of 1832. And throughout the successive stages of rapid change that have followed, its fundamentals have remained to bear the weight of the vast democratic superstructure which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have raised upon its sure foundation. Here, seen at long range, is "glory," burning steadily for 250 years: it is not the fierce, short, destructive blaze of *la gloire*.

The expulsion of James was a revolutionary act, but otherwise the spirit of this strange Revolution was the opposite of revolutionary. It came not to overthrow the law but to confirm it against a law-breaking king. It came not to coerce people into one pattern of opinion in politics or religion, but to give them freedom under and by the law. It was at once liberal and conservative; most revolutions are neither one nor the other, but overthrow the laws, and then tolerate no way of thinking save one. But in our Revolution the two great parties in Church and State united to save the laws of the land from destruction by James. . . .

Between the death of Elizabeth and the Revolution of 1688, the constant struggle between Parliament and King had rendered England weak in the face of the world, except during the few years when Cromwell had given her strength at a heavy price. Our civil broils had occupied our energies and attention; sometimes both the King and the statesmen of the Opposition were pensioners of France; always Parliament had been chary of supply to governments whose policy they could not continuously control. In the reigns of the Jameses and Charleses, foreign countries had regarded our Parliament as a source of weakness, hampering the executive power: the Constitution of England was contemptuously compared to that of Poland.

But after the Revolution the world began to see that our parliamentary government, when fully established, was capable of becoming a source of national strength. . . . Such are the reasons why modern historians regard the Revolution a turning point in the history of our country and of the world.

Questions for Thought

Why were absolutist practices less successful in England than in France? Of what significance was the different relationship in each country between the ruler and the Church? Between the aristocracy and the commercial classes?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Times,* (2d ed., Oxford, 1833), III, 4-5, IV, 539-40.
(2) F. C. Turner, *James II* (New York, 1948), pp. 233-34. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.
(3) C. H. Hull, ed., *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty* (Cambridge, 1899), II, 630-32. Reprinted by permission of the Cambridge University Press.
(4) William Bray, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London, 1901), II, 241-42.
(5) T. B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials to 1783; Continued to the Present Time* (2d ed., London, 1833), XI, 1199.
(6) E. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (Oxford, 1839), II, 308-11.
(7) Bray, *op. cit.,* II, 272-73.
(8) Sir John Reresby, *Travels and Memoirs of Great Britain* (London, 1813), p. 348.
(9) Richard B. Schlatter, *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 168-69. Reprinted by permission of the Clarendon Press.
(10) George M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History* (London, 1950), II, 113-14. Reprinted by permission of David McKay Co., Inc. and by Longmans Green & Co. Ltd.
(11) Burnet, *op. cit.,* pp. 133, 135.
(12) Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London and Edinburgh, 1771-1783), p. 228.
(13) *Statutes of the Realm,* VI, 142.
(14) Harold J. Laski, *The Rise of Liberalism* (New York, 1936), pp. 1-2, 110-11, 121-22. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Row, Publishers.
(15) Sir Charles Petrie, *The Stuart Pretenders* (London, 1933), pp. 63-64, 67-69. Reprinted by permission of Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd.
(16) George M. Trevelyan, *The English Revolution, 1688-1689* (London, 1938), pp. 7-19 *passim.* Reprinted by permission of the Oxford University Press.

PART III

The Problem of Security Versus Liberty

The relationship between political theory and practical politics has occupied the minds of men over the centuries. On the one hand, theory frequently derives from the facts of political life, either from the attempt to find an answer to current problems or from the attempt to justify actions already undertaken. On the other hand, the influence of political theory on practice becomes evident with any attempt to analyze the functioning of government. For while a theory is seldom consistently implemented, practical programs are often predicated on and justified in terms of theories that, initially understood only by an elite group, are gradually popularly accepted and become the standards by which a given society operates and judges its activities.

Perhaps the most decisive question with which political theory deals is that of who has the right to govern and why this right is vested in a particular individual or group. This question was at the center of political controversy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as kings fought first with an entrenched aristocracy and then with the rising bourgeoisie for acceptance of their right to govern. The theory of "divine right," elaborated by such men as Bishop Bossuet (1627-1704) and Jean Bodin (1530-1596) in France, helped to sustain the cause of the monarchy. But as men came more and more under the influence of the spirit of rationalism, the divine basis for royal rule was increasingly questioned.

In England, where one king was beheaded and another dethroned within the brief period of forty years, the question of who had the right to rule was the most critical political problem of the age. It is, therefore, not surprising that a number of political philosophers devoted themselves to an examination of the vital problems of sovereignty. Two of them, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, were especially significant in the development of political theory. Both men tried to find an answer to the persistent problem of the relation between the governed and those who govern. Hobbes, emphasizing the necessity for the security of the community, supported the concept of the sovereignty of the state at the expense of individual rights. Locke attempted to resolve the difficulty of liberty versus security through the use of limited representative government and guarantees for the rights of the individual and of private property.

The empirical study of politics continued to dominate the formulation of political theory in the eighteenth century. And yet the work of one of the most important theorists in the century, Jean Jacques Rousseau, was an exception to the trend. Drawing in part upon Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau produced an

argument out of social contract theory containing ideas that had an influence on the development of both modern totalitarianism and equalitarian democracy. His major work, *The Social Contract,* has become one of the most influential writings of modern times.

In reading the selections below from these three political theorists, keep in mind the issue of who should rule and why. What was the nature of the social contract expounded by each man? How does each theory attempt to deal with the problem of security versus liberty?

A. Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), the first of the great English political theorists, was the second son of an Anglican vicar who had deserted his young family. Some people explain his lifelong search for order as arising from this early insecurity. After he was graduated from Oxford, Hobbes became tutor to William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire, and later to the son. During these years he apparently met Galileo and became an intimate of Mersenne, a friend of Descartes. He thus entered into the circle of men then undermining the metaphysical speculations of the scholastics and preparing the way for Newton. At one time he acted as secretary to Francis Bacon, the exponent of the experimental method, who interested him in the writings of Machiavelli. While finding much in common with the Florentine's view of human nature, Hobbes turned to the new methods of mathematics and the physical sciences in designing his psychological studies and constructing his political philosophy.

When the English Civil War broke out, Hobbes, who was connected with the royalist cause, judiciously went abroad. He later became mathematics instructor to the exiled Prince of Wales (later Charles II). It was during these years that Hobbes wrote his major work, Leviathan *(1651), the publication of which brought him the disfavor of both English royalists and the French government, because the book defended the authority of any established government, even one created through revolutionary means. As a result, Hobbes fled back to republican England, where he was offered refuge on condition that he maintain silence on political affairs. Upon the restoration of Charles II (1660) Hobbes managed to regain the favor of the court, but in 1666 a parliamentary investigation of his* Leviathan *resulted in a bitter personal attack. In return for the king's protection, he once again promised to keep silent on matters likely to offend the public. Among foreigners, however, he was already recognized as "Hobbes, the greatest of distinguished political philosophers."*

—How did Hobbes' beliefs about the nature of man, society, and politics affect his political theories?
— What changes in the divine right theory appeared in *Leviathan?*
—Would Hobbes justify revolution under any circumstances?

1. LEVIATHAN, 1651 (1)

OF THE NATURAL CONDITION OF MANKIND AS CONCERNING THEIR FELICITY AND MISERY

Nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of the body and mind; as that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another, yet when all is reckoned together the difference between man and man, is not so considerable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others, that are in the same danger with himself. . . .

From this equality of ability, ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end, which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectation only, endeavour to destroy or subdue one another. And from hence it comes to pass, that where an invader hath no more to fear than another man's single power; if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united, to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labour, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader is in the like danger of another. . . .

OF THE CAUSES, GENERATION AND DEFINITION OF A COMMONWEALTH

The final cause, end, or design of men, who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others, in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war, which is necessarily consequent, as hath been shown above to the natural passions of men, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of Nature. . . .

For the laws of Nature, as "justice," "equity," "modesty," "mercy," and in sum, "doing to others, as we would be done to," of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants, without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. Therefore notwithstanding the laws of Nature, which every one hath then kept, when he has the will to keep them, when he can do it safely, if there be no power erected, or not great enough for our security; every man will, and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men. . . .

The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend

them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, . . . to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own, and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that beareth that person, shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills, every one to his will, and their judgments, to his judgment. This is more than consent, or concord; it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man. . . . This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a "commonwealth," in Latin *civitas*. This is the generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather, to speak more reverently, of that "mortal god," to which we owe under the "immortal God," our peace and defence. . . . And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which, to define it, is *one person of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.*

And he that carrieth this person is called "sovereign," and is said to have "sovereign power"; and every one besides, his "subject."

The attaining to this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural forces; as when a man maketh his children to submit themselves and their children to his government, as being able to destroy them if they refuse; or by war subdueth his enemies to his will, giving them their lives on that condition. The other is, when men agree amongst themselves to submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him against all others. . . .

OF THE RIGHTS OF SOVEREIGNS BY INSTITUTION

A "commonwealth" is said to be "instituted," when a "multitude" of men do agree, and "covenant, every one, with every one," that to whatsoever "man," or "assembly of men," shall be given the major part, the "right" to "represent" the person of them all, that is to say, to be their "representative"; every one, as well as he that "voted for it," as he that "voted against it," shall "authorize" all the actions and judgments, of that man, or assembly of men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men.

From this institution of a commonwealth are derived all the "rights" and "faculties" of him, or them, on whom sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled. . . .

OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF COMMONWEALTH BY INSTITUTION, AND OF SUCCESSION TO THE SOVEREIGN POWER

The difference of commonwealths consisteth in the difference of the sovereign, or the person representative of all and every one of the multitude. And

because the sovereignty is either in one man, or in an assembly of more than one; and into that assembly either every man hath right to enter, or not every one, but certain men distinguished from the rest; it is manifest, there can be but three kinds of commonwealth. For the representative must needs be one man, or more: and if more, when it is the assembly of all that will come together, then it is a "democracy," or popular commonwealth: when an assembly of a part only, then it is called an "aristocracy." Other kind of commonwealth there can be none: for either one or more, or all, must have the sovereign power, which I have shown to be indivisible, entire.

There be other names of government in the histories and books of policy, as "tyranny," and "oligarchy": but they are not the names of other forms of government, but of the same forms disliked. For they that are discontented under "monarchy," call it "tyranny"; and they that are displeased with "aristocracy," call it "oligarchy": so also they which find themselves grieved under a "democracy," call it "anarchy," which signifies want of government; and yet I think no man believes that want of government is any new kind of government: nor by the same reason ought they to believe that the government is of one kind when they like it, and another when they dislike it, or are oppressed by the governors. . . .

The difference between these three kinds of commonwealth, consisteth not in the difference of power; but in the difference of convenience, or aptitude to produce the peace and security of the people; for which end they were instituted. And to compare monarchy with the other two, we may observe; first, that whosoever beareth the person of the people, or is one of that assembly that bears it, beareth also his own natural person. And though he be careful in his politic person to procure the common interest; yet he is more or no less careful to procure the private good of himself, his family, kindred, and friends; and for the most part, if the public interest chance to cross the private, he prefers the private: for the passions of men are commonly more potent than their reason. From whence it follows, that where the public and private interest are most closely united, there is the public most advanced. Now in monarchy, the private interest is the same with the public. The riches, power, and honour of a monarch, arise only from the riches, strength, and reputation of his subjects. For no king can be rich, nor glorious, nor secure, whose subjects are either poor, or contemptible, or too weak through want or dissension, to maintain a war against their enemies: whereas in a democracy, or aristocracy, the public prosperity confers not so much to the private fortune of one that is corrupt, or ambitious, as doth many times a perfidious advice, a treacherous action, or a civil war.

Secondly, that a monarch receiveth counsel of whom, when, and where he pleaseth; and consequently may hear the opinion of men versed in the matter about which he deliberates, of what rank or quality so ever, and as long before the time of action, and with as much secrecy, as he will. But when a sovereign assembly has need of counsel, none are admitted but such as have a right thereto from the beginning; which for the most part are of those who have been versed more in the acquisition of wealth than of knowledge; and are to give their advice

in long discourses, which may and do commonly excite men to action, but not govern them in it. For the "understanding" is by the flame of the passions, never enlightened, but dazzled. Nor is there any place, or time, wherein an assembly can receive counsel with secrecy, because of their own multitude.

Thirdly, that the resolutions of a monarch are subject to no other inconstancy, than that of human nature; but in assemblies, besides that of Nature, there ariseth an inconstancy from the number. For the absence of a few, that would have the resolution once taken, continued firm, which may happen by security, negligence, or private impediments, or the diligent appearance of a few of the contrary opinion, undoes to-day all that was concluded yesterday.

Fourthly, that a monarch cannot disagree with himself, out of envy or interest; but an assembly may; and that to such a height, as may produce civil war. . . .

LIBERTY OF SUBJECTS

The obligation of subjects to the sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasts, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. . . . And though sovereignty, in the intention of them that make it, be immortal; yet is it in its own nature, not only subject to violent death, by foreign war; but also through the ignorance and passions of men, it has in it, from the very institution, many seeds of a natural mortality, by intestine discord.

B. John Locke

John Locke (1632-1704) was forty-four years younger than Hobbes, but, like Hobbes, he lived during a period of momentous political change. Entering Oxford at a time when it was under Puritan domination, the young scholar found the creed too confining; he was interested not only in theology but also in the humanities, philosophy, and what today would be termed the social sciences. Locke found an influential patron in Lord Shaftesbury, the leader of the Whig faction in Restoration England. As his secretary, Locke devoted himself to his patron's political interests and shared his political fortunes. Thus, in 1683, when the Whigs incurred the displeasure of Charles II, he followed Shaftesbury into exile in Holland, where he completed his famous Essay Concerning Human Understanding. *It was published with his* First and Second Treatises on Civil Government *in 1690, after the overthrow of James II. Under the government of William of Orange Locke held various minor offices and acted as a state advisor. He became known in England and on the continent as the leading exponent of political freedom.*

Where Hobbes, in his interest in preserving order, had defended royal absolutism, Locke stood for constitutional government and the authority of Parlia-

ment. Locke disapproved of the restoration of the Stuarts and was especially opposed to the religious policies of James II. He eagerly supported the efforts of Parliament to overthrow James, and his Second Treatise *was an attempt to explain the whole maneuver as legitimate. Locke sought to apply the new empirical method and to do for politics what Newton was to do for physics—to discover the universal principles undergirding it. He tried to demolish Hobbes' defense of absolutism by championing parliamentary supremacy within the framework of the English constitution. In the process he laid the foundations of political liberalism, which became so effective in shaping constitutional thinking on individual rights and limited government.*

—How do the events of the time seem to have affected Locke's argument for limited government, legislative supremacy, and the right of revolution?
—Of what importance is property in Locke's conception of politics?
—How valid was Locke's definition of freedom in the seventeenth century?

1. SECOND TREATISE ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT, 1690 (2)

OF THE STATE OF NATURE

To understand political power [a]right, and derive it from its original, we must consider, what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection, unless the lord and master of them all should, by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty. . . .

But though this be a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of license: though man in that state have an uncontrollable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, yet he has not liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any creature in his possessions, but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it. The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions: for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker; all the servants of one sovereign master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business; they are his property whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one another's pleasure. . . .

OF PROPERTY

God, who hath given the world to men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life and convenience. The earth and all that is therein is given to men for the support and comfort of their being. And though all the fruits it naturally produces, and beasts it feeds, belong to mankind in common, as they are produced by the spontaneous hand of nature, and no body has originally a private dominion exclusive of the rest of mankind in any of them, as they are thus in their natural state, yet being given for the use of men, there must of necessity be a means to appropriate them some way or other, before they can be of any use, or at all beneficial, to any particular man. The fruit or venison which nourishes the wild Indian, who knows no enclosure, and is still a tenant in common, must be his, and so his—i.e., a part of him, that another can no longer have any right to it before it can do him any good for the support of his life.

Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a *property* in his own *person*. This nobody has any right to but himself. The *labour* of his body and the *work* of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that nature has provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. . . .

He that is nourished by the acorns he picked up under an oak, or the apples he gathered from the trees in the wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself. Nobody can deny but that the nourishment is his. I ask, then, when did they begin to be his? when he digested? or when he ate? or when he boiled? or when he brought them home? or when he picked them up? And 'tis plain, if the first gathering made them not his, nothing else could. That labour put a distinction between them and common. That added something to them more than Nature, the common mother of all, had done, and so they became his private right. . . .

It will perhaps be objected to this, that if gathering the acorns or other fruits of the earth, etc., makes a right to them, then any one may engross as much as he will. To which I answer, Not so. The same law of nature that does by this means give us property, does also bound that property too. *God has given us all things richly,* I *Tim.* vi. 12. Is the voice of reason confirmed by inspiration? But how far has he given it us, *to enjoy?* As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his labour fix a property in. Whatever is beyond this is more than his share, and belongs to others. . . .

But the chief matter of property being now not the fruits of the earth, and the beasts that subsist on it, but the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries all the rest, I think it is plain that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. . . .

OF THE ENDS OF POLITICAL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

If man in the state of nature be so free as has been said; if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions; equal to the greatest and subject to no body, why will he part with his freedom? Why will he give up this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which 'tis obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain and constantly exposed to the invasion of others; for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very insecure. This makes him willing to quit this condition which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers; and 'tis not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others who are already united, or have a mind to unite for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

The great and chief end therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of nature there are many things wanting. . . .

OF THE EXTENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

The great end of men's entering into society being the enjoyment of their properties in peace and safety, and the great instrument and means of that being the laws established in that society, the first and fundamental positive law of all commonwealths is the establishing of the legislative power; as the first and fundamental natural law, which is to govern even the legislative itself, is the preservation of the society, and (as far as will consist with the public good) of every person in it. . . .

These are the bounds which the trust that is put in them by the society and the law of God and nature have set to the legislative power of every commonwealth, in all forms of government.

First, They are to govern by promulgated and established laws, not to be varied in particular cases, but to have one rule for rich and poor, for the favourite at Court, and the countryman at plough.

Secondly, These laws also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately but the good of the people.

Thirdly, They must not raise taxes on the property of the people without the consent of the people given by themselves or their deputies. And this property concerns only such governments where the legislative is always in being, or at least where the people have not reserved any part of the legislative to deputies, to be from time to time chosen by themselves.

Fourthly, The legislative neither must nor can transfer the power of making laws to anybody else, or place it anywhere but where the people have.

OF THE DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT

The reason why men enter into society is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative is that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society, to limit the power and moderate the dominion of every part and member of the society. For since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society that the legislative should have a power to destroy that which every one designs to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making: whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any farther obedience, and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence. Whensoever therefore the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people; who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they shall think fit), provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society. What I have said here concerning the legislative in general holds true also concerning the supreme executor, who having a double trust put in him, both to have a part in the legislative and the supreme execution of the law, acts against both, when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary will as the law of society. He acts also contrary to his trust when he employs the force, treasure, and offices of the society to corrupt the representatives and gain them to his purposes, when he openly pre-engages the electors, and prescribes, to their choice, such whom he has, by solicitations, threats, promises, or otherwise, won to his designs, and employs them to bring in such who have promised beforehand what to vote and what to enact. . . . What power they ought to have in the society who thus employ it contrary to the trust [that] went along with it in its first institution, is easy to determine; and one cannot but see that he who has once attempted any such thing as this cannot any longer be trusted.

C. Jean Jacques Rousseau

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), son of a Protestant watchmaker in Geneva, ran away from home at the age of sixteen to begin a harsh and irregular life. First a servant, then patronized by a wealthy lady who became his mistress, he eventually made his way to Paris, the center of European cultural life. In 1749 an essay in which he argued that man was by nature good but had been corrupted

by civilization created a sensation. His subsequent writings, among them The Social Contract *(1762), made him famous. But so controversial were these works that Rousseau found it expedient to leave France. By the time he was able to return to Paris in 1770, he had developed a full-fledged persecution complex. Living in a garret and copying music for a living, he emerged periodically to read excerpts from his* Confessions *in the salons of the city. His madness was considered a part of his eccentricity. Where Hobbes and Locke had written during a time of rising confidence in the use of reason, Rousseau, a half century later, was a spokesman of its decline. One of the most significant of modern political theorists, his ideas can be, and have been, interpreted in many ways.*

—Compare Rousseau's explanation of the social contract with that of Hobbes and Locke.
—What does he mean by the "general will"? To what extent does this differ from the "particular will" and the "will of all"?
—What concepts in modern democratic theory can be traced to Rousseau's thought? What concepts of totalitarian theory?

1. THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, 1762 (3)

Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can make it legitimate? That question I think I can answer. . . .

THE RIGHT OF THE STRONGEST

The strongest is never strong enough to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty. Hence the right of the strongest, which, though to all seeming meant ironically, is really laid down as a fundamental principle. But are we never to have an explanation of this phrase? Force is a physical power, and I fail to see what moral effect it can have. To yield to force is an act of necessity, not of will—at the most, an act of prudence. In what sense can it be a duty?

Suppose for a moment that this so-called "right" exists. I maintain that the sole result is a mass of inexplicable nonsense. For, if force creates right, the effect changes with the cause: every force that is greater than the first succeeds to its right. As soon as it is possible to disobey with impunity, disobedience is legitimate; and, the strongest being always in the right, the only thing that matters is to act so as to become the strongest. But what kind of right is that which perishes when force fails? If we must obey perforce, there is no need to obey because we ought; and if we are not forced to obey, we are under no obligation to do so. Clearly, the word "right" adds nothing to force: in this connection, it means absolutely nothing.

Obey the powers that be. If this means yield to force, it is a good precept,

but superfluous: I can answer for its never being violated. All power comes from God, I admit; but so does all sickness: does that mean that we are forbidden to call in the doctor? A brigand surprises me at the edge of a wood: must I not merely surrender my purse on compulsion; but, even if I could withhold it, am I in conscience bound to give it up? For certainly the pistol he holds is also a power.

Let us then admit that force does not create right, and that we are obliged to obey only legitimate powers. In that case, my original question recurs. . . .

THE SOCIAL COMPACT

I suppose men to have reached the point at which the obstacles in the way of their preservation in the state of nature show their power of resistance to be greater than the resources at the disposal of each individual for his maintenance in that state. That primitive condition can then subsist no longer; and the human race would perish unless it changed its manner of existence.

But, as men cannot engender new forces, but only unite and direct existing ones, they have no other means of preserving themselves than the formation, by aggregation, of a sum of forces great enough to overcome the resistance. These they have to bring into play by means of a single motive power, and cause to act in concert.

This sum of forces can arise only where several persons come together: but, as the force and liberty of each man are the chief instruments of his self-preservation, how can he pledge them without harming his own interests, and neglecting the care he owes to himself? This difficulty, in its bearing on my present subject, may be stated in the following terms:

"The problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before." This is the fundamental problem of which the *Social Contract* provides the solution.

The clauses of this contract are so determined by the nature of the act that the slightest modification would make them vain and ineffective; so that, although they have perhaps never been formally set forth, they are everywhere the same and everywhere tacitly admitted and recognized, until, on the violation of the social compact, each regains his original rights and resumes his natural liberty, while losing the conventional liberty in favour of which he renounced it.

These clauses, properly understood, may be reduced to one—the total alienation of each associate, together with all his rights, to the whole community; for, in the first place, as each gives himself absolutely, the conditions are the same for all; and, this being so, no one has any interest in making them burdensome to others. . . .

Finally, each man, in giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody; and as there is no associate over which he does not acquire the same right as he yields

others over himself, he gains an equivalent for everything he loses, and an increase of force for the preservation of what he has.

If then we discard from the social compact what is not of its essence, we shall find that it reduces itself to the following terms:

"Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole." . . .

Again, the Sovereign, being formed wholly of the individuals who compose it, neither has nor can have any interest contrary to theirs; and consequently the sovereign power need give no guarantee to its subjects, because it is impossible for the body to wish to hurt all its members. We shall also see later on that it cannot hurt any in particular. The Sovereign, merely by virtue of what it is, is always what it should be. This, however, is not the case with the relation of the subjects to the Sovereign, which, despite the common interest, would have no security that they would fulfil their undertakings, unless it found means to assure itself of their fidelity.

In fact, each individual, as a man, may have a particular will contrary or dissimilar to the general will which he has as a citizen. His particular interest may speak to him quite differently from the common interest: his absolute and naturally independent existence may make him look upon what he owes to the common cause as a gratuitous contribution, the loss of which will do less harm to others than the payment of it is burdensome to himself; and, regarding the moral person which constitutes the State as a *persona ficta,* because not a man, he may wish to enjoy the rights of citizenship without being ready to fulfil the duties of a subject. The continuance of such an injustice could not but prove the undoing of the body politic.

In order that the social compact may not be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which alone can give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body. This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free; for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence. In this lies the key to the working of the political machine; this alone legitimitizes civil undertakings, which, without it, would be absurd, tyrannical, and liable to the most frightful abuses. . . .

THE CIVIL STATE

. . . Let us draw up the whole account in terms easily commensurable. What man loses by the social contract is his natural liberty and an unlimited right to everything he tries to get and succeeds in getting; what he gains is civil liberty and the proprietorship of all he possesses. If we are to avoid mistake in weighing one against the other, we must clearly distinguish natural liberty, which is bounded only by the strength of the individual, from civil liberty, which is limited by the general will; and possession, which is merely the effect of force or the right of the first occupier, from property, which can be founded only on a positive title. . . .

WHETHER THE GENERAL WILL IS FALLIBLE

It follows from what has gone before that the general will is always right and tends to the public advantage; but it does not follow that the deliberations of the people are always equally correct. Our will is always for our own good, but we do not always see what that is; the people is never corrupted, but it is often deceived, and on such occasions only does it seem to will what is bad.

There is often a great deal of difference between the will of all and the general will; the latter considers only the common interest, while the former takes private interest into account, and is no more than a sum of particular wills. . . .

When factions arise, and partial associations are formed at the expense of the great association, the will of each of these associations becomes general in relation to its members, while it remains particular in relation to the State; it may then be said that there are no longer as many votes as there are men, but only as many as there are associations. The differences become less numerous and give a less general result. Lastly, when one of these associations is so great as to prevail over all the rest, the result is no longer a sum of small differences, but a single difference; in this case there is no longer a general will, and the opinion which prevails is purely particular.

It is therefore essential, if the general will is to be able to express itself, that there should be no partial society within the State, and that each citizen should think only his own thoughts: which indeed was the sublime and unique system established by the great Lycurgus. But if there are partial societies, it is best to have as many as possible and to prevent them from being unequal, as was done by Solon, Numa, and Servius. These precautions are the only ones that can guarantee that the general will shall be always enlightened, and that the people shall in no way deceive itself. . . .

HOW TO CHECK THE USURPATIONS OF GOVERNMENT

What we have just said . . . makes it clear that the institution of government is not a contract, but a law; that the depositaries of the executive power are not the people's masters, but its officers; that it can set them up and pull them down when it likes; that for them there is no question of contract, but of obedience; and that in taking charge of the functions the State imposes on them they are doing no more than fulfilling their duty as citizens, without having the remotest right to argue about the conditions.

When therefore the people sets up an hereditary government, whether it be monarchical and confined to one family, or aristocratic and confined to a class, what it enters into is not an undertaking; the administration is given a provisional form, until the people chooses to order it otherwise.

It is true that such changes are always dangerous, and that the established government should never be touched except when it comes to be incompatible with the public good; but the circumspection this involves is a maxim of policy

and not a rule of right, and the State is no more bound to leave civil authority in the hands of its rulers than military authority in the hands of its generals.

It is also true that it is impossible to be too careful to observe, in such cases, all the formalities necessary to distinguish a regular and legitimate act from a seditious tumult, and the will of a whole people from the clamour of a faction. . . . From this obligation the prince derives a great advantage in preserving his power despite the people, without its being possible to say he has usurped it; for, seeming to avail himself only of his rights, he finds it very easy to extend them, and to prevent, under the pretext of keeping the peace, assemblies that are destined to the re-establishment of order; with the result that he takes advantage of a silence he does not allow to be broken, or of irregularities he causes to be committed, to assume that he has the support of those whom fear prevents from speaking, and to punish those who dare to speak. . . .

The periodical assemblies of which I have already spoken are designed to prevent or postpone this calamity, above all when they need no formal summoning; for in that case, the prince cannot stop them without openly declaring himself a law-breaker and an enemy of the State.

The opening of these assemblies, whose sole object is the maintenance of the social treaty, should always take the form of putting two propositions that may not be suppressed, which should be voted on separately.

The first is: "Does it please the Sovereign to preserve the present form of government?"

The second is: "Does it please the people to leave its administration in the hands of those who are actually in charge of it?"

I am here assuming what I think I have shown; that there is in the State no fundamental law that cannot be revoked, not excluding the social compact itself; for if all the citizens assembled of one accord to break the compact, it is impossible to doubt that it would be very legitimately broken.

Questions for Thought

How did Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau resolve the problem of the conflict of liberty and security in society? How can one explain the emphasis each man gave the problem?

SOURCES OF SELECTIONS

(1) Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London, n.d.), pp. 63-65, 82-88, 116-17.
(2) *The Works of John Locke* (London, 1812), V, 339-41, 353-56, 411-12, 416, 423-24, 469-71.
(3) Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses,* trans. G. D. H. Cole, Everyman's Library (New York, 1950), pp. 3, 6-7, 13-15, 17-19, 26-28, 99-101. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., and J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.

LIST OF READINGS

This list identifies the readings. The number of each title agrees with the reading number (in parenthesis) in the text and is keyed to the sources listed at the end of each problem. No attempt has been made to distinguish between titles that correspond to actual titles of works from which a selection has been excerpted and other titles as used in this book.

CHAPTER ONE: The Ancient World and the Study of History 1

PART I: *Crisis in Fifth-Century Greece* 2
1. Plutarch, Life of Lycurgus 5
2. Thucydides, Pericles' Funeral Oration 8
3. Thucydides, The War Debate at Sparta in the Peloponnesian War 11

PART II: *The Greeks and the Good Life* 18
1. H. D. F. Kitto, The Polis 19
2. Plato, The Republic 27
3. Sophocles, Antigone 30

PART III: *The Romans and the Germans* 42
1. Tacitus, Germania 43

PART IV: *The Romans and the Christians* 53
1.–5. Selections from the Acts of the Apostles 55–61
6. Tacitus on the Neronian Persecution 63
7. Pliny-Trajan Correspondence 64
8. Lucian on Peregrinus Proteus 66
9. The Trial of the Scillitan Martyrs 67
10. Letter of Libanius to the Emperor Julian 69

PART V: *The Decline of Rome* 71
1. Norman H. Baynes, The Decline of the Roman Power in the West 72
2. Symmachus' Pagan Point of View 81
3. Orosius, From the Seven Books of History Against the Pagans 82
4. Salvian, On the Government of God 83
5.–6. Sidonius on the Visigoths and on Political Offices 86–87
7. Rutilius on the Future of Rome 88

CHAPTER TWO: The Problem of Government in the Middle Ages 89

PART I: *The Feudal Idea and Political Authority* 90
1. Edward Gibbon, On the Decline of Roman Authority 92
2. A Grant of Immunity of the Seventh Century 92
3. Einhard, Life of Charlemagne 93
4. General Capitulary of Charlemagne About the Missi 94

5. Charlemagne's Letter to an Ecclesiastical Vassal on His Obligations 95
6. Capitulary of Mersen 95
7. A Medieval Chronicler on the Dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire 96
8.–13. Documents on Vassalage and the Feudal Contract 97–100
14. A Miracle of St. Benedict 101
15. The Song of Roland: The Battle at Ronceval 103

PART II: *The Forces That Produced Magna Carta* 108
1. Roger of Wendover, Account of Magna Carta 110
2. Sidney Painter, The Personality of King John 111
3. Letter of Stephen Langton to the English Nobles 115
4. John's Charter to the Church 115
5. Walter of Coventry, Northern Barons Protest 117
6. F. M. Powicke, Stephen Langton 118
7. Unknown Charter 120
8. Magna Carta 121

CHAPTER THREE: The Medieval Church 124

PART I: *Christianity and the Feudal Church* 124
1. Marc Bloch, The Ecclesiastical Society Within the Feudal World 125
2. Everyman on Death 130
3. Caesarius of Heisterbach on the Potency of the Sacrament 131
4.–5. Documents from English Cathedral Records 132, 133
6. John Mirk, The Priest's Manual 134
7.–8. Church Documents on Clerical Income and Appropriation of Tithes 137, 138
9. Articles of Inquiry, 1253 139
10. Humbert de Romans' Program of Reform 140
11. The Rule of St. Benedict 141
12. The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond 141

PART II: *Papacy and Empire in the Early Middle Ages* 145
1. Pope Gelasius I on the Relation of Papal and Imperial Authority 147
2. Emperor Justinian Supervises the Clergy 148
3. Imperial Confirmation of Papal Elections, *c.* 650 148
4. Excerpts from the Pontificate of Gregory II 150
5. Gregory II Defies the Emperor 151
6. The Donation of Constantine 152
7. Charlemagne on the Duties of the Pope 154
8. The Annals of Lorsch and Einhard on the Crowning of Charlemagne 155
9. A Decree of Lothair, 824 156

10. Louis II Describes the Status of a Holy Roman Emperor 157
11. Pope Leo VIII's Concessions to Otto I 158
12. Gregory VII, Papal Rights and Prerogatives 159
13. Emperor Henry IV, Letter Deposing Pope Gregory VII 160

CHAPTER FOUR: Aspects of Medieval Life 163

PART I: *Life on the Manor* 164

1. Aelfric, Colloquy 167
2. Piers Plowman 167
3. J. W. Thompson and E. N. Johnson, A View of the Peasant in Medieval Literature 168
4.–5. Medieval Accounts of the Duties of Peasants 169, 170
6. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society 171
7.–9. Documents Illustrative of Feudalism 174, 175
10. Marc Bloch, The Lord's Right to Command 176
11. Marc Bloch, The Characteristics of a Serf 177
12. R. W. Southern, The Bonds of Medieval Society 179

PART II: *The Ideal and the Practice in Medieval Business Life* 183

1. Bede Jarrett, Social Theories of the Middle Ages 184
2. St. Thomas Aquinas on Trade 187
3. Genoese Business Documents of the Twelfth Century 190
4. Life of St. Godric of Finchale 191
5. Henri Pirenne, The Capitalistic Character of International Trade 194

PART III: *Three Medieval Views of Happiness* 197

1. St. Thomas Aquinas, On Ultimate Happiness 198
2. Aucassin and Nicolette 202
3. Examples of Goliardic Verse 217, 218, 219

CHAPTER FIVE: The Renaissance 221

PART I: *Social and Political Change in Renaissance Florence* 222

1. The Chronicle of Alamanno Acciaioli 225
2. Petition of the Ciompi, 1378 229
3. Niccolo Machiavelli Describes the Aftermath of the Ciompi Revolt 231
4. Leon Battista Alberti, On the Family 233
5. Leon Battista Alberti, Advice Concerning the Purchase of an Estate 234
6. Vespasiano da Bisticci, A Contemporary Description of Palla degli Strozzi 237
7. Vespasiano da Bisticci, A Contemporary Description of Cosimo dei Medici 239

8. Niccolo Machiavelli, How Cosimo dei Medici Governed Florence 241

PART II: *Individualism and the Artist: Benvenuto Cellini* 243

1. Excerpts from the Life of Benvenuto Cellini 245

PART III: *The New Realism of Machiavelli* 269

1. Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince 272–285
2. Niccolo Machiavelli, The Discourses 287

CHAPTER SIX: Conflict and Continuity in Religion 289

PART I: *Luther: Rebel or Conservative?* 290

1.–3. David Hume, Heinrich von Treitschke, and A. J. P. Taylor Interpret Luther's Motives 292, 293
4. Thomas à Kempis, The Imitation of Christ 294
5. Erasmus, In Praise of Folly 294
6. Martin Luther, Distress in the Cloister 295
7. Martin Luther, Justification by Faith 296
8. Martin Luther, The Ninety-Five Theses 297
9. Martin Luther, Concerning Christian Liberty 297
10. Luther's Reply at the Diet of Worms 300
11. Edict of the Diet of Worms 301
12.–14. Erasmus-Luther Correspondence 302–303
15. The Twelve Articles of the German Peasants 305
16. Martin Luther, Admonition to Peace 306
17. Diary of Michael Eisenhart of Rothenburg 307
18. Martin Luther, Against the Murdering and Robbing Bands of the Peasants 308

PART II: *The Continuity of Religious Reform: Catholic Reformation and Calvinism* 310

1. William H. Prescott on Cardinal Ximenes 312
2. Reforms Proposed by the Cardinals, 1538 315
3. Founding of the Jesuits: Oath of the Jesuits Approved by Paul III, 1539 316
4. The Establishment of the Roman Inquisition 317
5. The Tridentine Profession of Faith 318
6. John Calvin's Catechism 319

PART III: *Religion and Politics: The Thirty Years' War* 321

1. Hans von Grimmelshausen, The Adventures of Simplicius Simplicissimus 325
2. The Destruction of Magdeburg, 1631 327
3. The Edict of Restitution 329
4. Letter of Duke of Pomerania to Emperor Ferdinand 329
5. Gustavus Adolphus Explains Why He Entered the War 330

6. Cardinal Richelieu, Testament Politique 332
7. The Peace of Westphalia 334
8. Pope Innocent X Denounces the Religious Settlement 336
9. Carl Friedrich, The Age of the Baroque, 1610–1660 337
10. Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany 338
11. S. H. Steinberg, Thirty Years War 339
12. C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years War 340

CHAPTER SEVEN: The Commercial Expansion: England, A Case Study 343

1.–2. Venetian Diplomatic Reports 345, 346
3. The Navigation Act of 1663 347
4. The Establishment of the Board of Trade, 1696 348
5. Dalby Thomas, An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies 350
6. Ephraim Lipson, The South Sea Company 353
7. Daniel Defoe, The Strange Adventures of Robinson Crusoe 355

CHAPTER EIGHT: From Tradition to Science 369

1. René Descartes, Discourse on Method 371
2. Isaac Newton, Preface to the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy 377
3. Isaac Newton, Rules of Reasoning in Philosophy 378
4. Isaac Newton, A Letter Describing His Optical Experiments 379
5. Benjamin Franklin, Nature as a Great Clock 382
6. Denis Diderot, Article on "Art" in the Encyclopédie 383

CHAPTER NINE: Politics in the Age of Absolutism 386

PART I: *The Limits of Authoritarian Bureaucracy* 387
1. Roland Mousnier, The Methods of Authoritarian Bureaucracy 389
2. Bishop Bossuet, Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture 393
3. Louis XIV Describes the Functions of a King to His Son 394
4.–5. Duc de Saint-Simon, Memoirs of Louis XIV 396–398
6.–10. Letters and Edicts of Jean-Baptiste Colbert 401–403
11.–12. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 405, 406
13. Archbishop Fénelon, Letter of Protest to Louis XIV 407

PART II: *The Failure of Absolutism: The Revolution of 1688* 409

1. Bishop Burnet on James II 411
2. F. C. Turner on James II 412
3. Sir William Petty, The Powers of the King of England 413
4. Sir John Evelyn on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 414
5. Godden vs. Hales, 1686 415
6. Declaration of Indulgence, 1687 415
7. Sir John Evelyn on the Bishops' Trial 416
8. Sir John Reresby, 15 June 1688 416
9. Richard B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–1688 417
10. George M. Trevelyan, Religion, Politics, and Class 418
11. Bishop Burnet on William of Orange 418
12. Letter of Invitation to William of Orange 419
13. The Bill of Rights 420
14.–16. Harold Laski, Sir Charles Petrie, and George M. Trevelyan Interpret the Causes of the Revolution 421, 423, 424

PART III: *The Problem of Security Versus Liberty* 427

1. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan 429
2. John Locke, Second Treatise on Civil Government 433
3. Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract 437

ILLUSTRATION ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Anderson-Art Reference Bureau: p. 103
Alinari-Art Reference Bureau: pp. 135, 247, 254 (bottom), 264
Brogi-Art Reference Bureau: p. 254 (top)
Giraudon: p. 395
Hirmer Verlag, Munich: p. 41
Helen H. Miller: p. 40
The New York Public Library: pp. 99 (Picture Collection); 171, from *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke* by Albert Schramm. Leipzig, 1924 (Prints Division); pp. 356–357 (Rare Book Division)